

THE HISTORY
OF BRITISH INDIA,
^{BY}
MILL & WILSON.

IN TEN VOLUMES.

VOL. III

THE HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA.

BY JAMES MILL, ESQ.

FIFTH EDITION WITH NOTES AND CONTINUATION,

BY HORACE HAYMAN WILSON, M.A., F.R.S.

MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETIES OF PARIS BOSTON AND CALCUTTA
AND OF THE ORIENTAL SOCIETY OF GERMANY; OF THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE OF FRANCE, AND THE
IMPERIAL ACADEMY OF VIENNA AND BY PETERSBURGH; OF THE ROYAL ACADEMIES
OF BERLIN AND MUNICH ETC ETC; AND EDDY PROFESSOR OF
BANCROP IN THE UNIVERSITIES OF OXFORD

VOLUME III

LONDON

JAMES MADDEN, 8, LEADENHALL STREET.

PIPER, STEPHENSON AND SPENCE

EMBANKMENT, LONDON

LONDON
PRINTED BY WESTBROOK & CO OF
CIRCUS PLACE, FINSBURY CIRCUS.

CONTENTS

BOOK IV

FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT, ON LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY, OF ONE EXCLUSIVI COMPANY, IN THE YEAR 1708, TILL THE CHANGE IN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE COMPANY, BY THE ACT OF 13TH GEO III IN 1773

CHAPTER I

The Constitution of the East India Company — its practical Arrangements for the Conduct of Business, and Transactions till the Conclusion of the War with France, by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle

PAGE

1

CHAPTER II.

Origin, Progress, and Suspension of the Contest for establishing
Mohammed Ali, Nabob of the Carnatic

60

CHAPTER III

Siraj-Ul-Daulah, Subadar of Bengal — takes Calcutta — attacked
by an Army from Mysore — de-bronel — Major General set upon
his seat

108

CHAPTER IV

Renewal of the War with the French in the Carnatic—Arrival of Lally—French Power superior to the English—English Power superior to the French—Pondicherry taken, and the French driven out of the Carnatic 138

CHAPTER V

First Nabobship of Meer Jaffer—Expedition against the Northern Circars—Emperor's eldest Son, and Nabobs of Oude and Allah abad invade Bengal—Clive resigns the Government, and is succeeded by Mr Hastings—Jaffer dethroned, and Meer Cardin set up—Disorders by the Private Trade of the Company's Servants—War with Cashm—He is dethroned, and Jaffer again set up—War with the Nabob of Oude—Death of Jaffer—His Son made nominal Nabob—Courts of Proprietors and Directors—Clive sent back to govern Bengal 187

CHAPTER VI.

Political State of the Carnatic—Views of the Nabob on the Governor of Velore, King of Tanjore and Marawars—Treaty with Tanjore—Company's Jaghirs—War on Mohammed Issoof—Mound of the Cavery 263

CHAPTER VII.

Second Administration of Clive—Company's Orders respecting the Private Trade disregarded—Arrangements with the Vizir—With the Emperor—Acquisition of the Dewanee—Private Trade created a Monopoly for the Benefit of the superior Servants—Reduction of the Allowances—Its Effect—Clive resigns and Vereker succeeds—Proceedings in England relative to the State of Dividend on Company's Stock—Financial Difficulties—Vereker resigns, and Carter succeeds 274

CHAPTER VIII

	Page
Subahdar of the Deccan dethroned by his Brother — The English take possession of the Northern Circars — Make a Treaty with the Subahdar of the Deccan, which embroils them with Hyder Ali — Hyder's First War with the English — New Treaty with the Subahdar — Peace with Hyder ..	315

CHAPTER IX

Public Opinion in England — Proceedings in the India House, and in Parliament — Plan of Supervisors — Plan of a King's Commissioner — Increase of Pecuniary Difficulties — Dividend raised — Company unable to meet their Obligations — Parliamentary Inquiry — Ministerial Relief — An Act which changes the Constitution of the Company — Tendency of the Change — Financial and Commercial State	336
---	-----

BOOK V.

FROM THE FIRST GREAT CHANGE IN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, AND IN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, IN 1773, TILL THE SECOND GREAT CHANGE, BY THE ACT, COMMONLY CALLED MR Pitt's ACT, IN 1774

CHAPTER I

Administration of Hastings till the Time when the Parliamentary Members of the Council arrived, and the Operations of the New Constitution commenced, including — Arrangements for collecting the Revenue, and administering Justice, intermediately as Dewan — Treatment of Mohammed Raja Khan, and the Raja Shambhu — Levying of Money Begum — Distribution of the Robustis — Sale of Corah and Alibagh to the Viras — Payment refused of the Emperor's Revenue — Financial results ..	251
--	-----

CHAPTER II.

Commencement of the New Government— Supreme Council divided into two Parties, of which that of the Governor General in the Minority — Presidency of Bombay espouse the cause of Ragoba, an ejected Peahwa — Supreme Council condemn this Policy and make Peace with his Opponents — Situation of the Powers in the Upper Country Nabob of Oude, Emperor and Nujaf Khan — Pecuniary Corruption, in which Governor General seemed to be implicated, in the cases of the Ranees of Burdwan, Phoujdar of Hoogly and Munni Begum — Governor-General resists Inquiry — Nancomar the Great Accuser — He is prosecuted by Governor General — Accused of Forgery found guilty and hanged — Mo- hammed Reza Khan, and the Office of Naib Subah restored	Page 409
--	-------------

HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA.

BOOK IV

FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT, ON LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY,
OF ONE EXCLUSIVE COMPANY, IN THE YEAR 1708, TILL
THE CHANGE IN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE COMPANY,
BY THE ACT OF 13TH GEO III IN 1773

CHAPTER I

The Constitution of the East India Company, its practical Arrangements for the Conduct of Business, and Transactions till the Conclusion of the War with France by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle

WHEN the competitors for Indian commerce were united BOOK IV.
into one corporate body, and the privilege of exclusive CHAP. 1
trade was founded on legislative authority, the business of
the East India Company became regular and uniform
Their capital, composed of the shares of the subscribers,
was a fixed and definite sum Of the modes of dealing,
adapted to the nature of the business, little information
remained to be required Their proceedings were reduced
to an established routine, or a series of operations periodi-
cally recurring A general description, therefore, of the
plan upon which the Company conducted themselves,
and a statement of its principal results, appear to com-
prehend every thing which falls within the design of a
history of that commercial body, during a period of several
years

1708

BOOK IV deliberate with violence and animosity and exhibit all
 CHAP I confusion, precipitation, and imprudence, which are so
 commonly ascribed to the exercise of popular power

1706.

The actual result is extremely different from what the common modes of reasoning incite common minds to infer. Notwithstanding the power which, by the theory of the constitution, was thus reserved to the popular parts of the system, all power has centred in the Court of Directors; and the government of the Company has been an oligarchy in fact. So far from meddling too much, the Court of Proprietors have not attended to the common affairs even sufficiently for the business of inspection and the known principles of human nature abundantly secured that unfortunate result. To watch, to scrutinize, to inquire, is labour and labour is pain. To confide, to take for granted that all is well, is easy is exempt from trouble, and, to the great mass of mankind, comparatively delightful. On all ordinary occasions, on all occasions which present not a powerful motive to action the great mass of mankind are sure to be led by the soft and agreeable feeling. And if they who act have only sufficient prudence to avoid those occurrences which are calculated to rouse the people on account of whom they act, the people will allow them abundant scope to manage the common concerns in a way conformable to their own liking and advantage. It is thus that all constitutions, however democratically formed, have a tendency to become oligarchical in practice. By the numerous body who constitute the democracy the objects of ambition are beheld at so great a distance and the competition for them is shared with so great a number that in general they make but a feeble impression upon their minds; the small number on the other hand, intrusted with the management, feel so immediately the advantages, and their affections are so powerfully engaged by the presence of their object that they easily concentrate their views, and point their energies with perfect constancy in the selfish direction. The apathy and inattention of the people on the one hand and the interested activity of the rulers on the other are two powers, the action of which may always be counted upon; nor has the art of government as yet exemplified, however the science may or may not have discovered, any

certain means by which the unhappy effects of that action BOOK IV
may be prevented.¹ CHAP. I

CHIAP E

For conducting the affairs of the Company, the Directors divided themselves into parties called Committees, and the business into as many separate shares?

1708

The first was the Committee of Correspondence, of which the business was more confidential, as well as extensive, than that of any of the rest. Its duties were, to study the advices from India, and to prepare answers for the inspection of the Court of Directors to report upon the number of ships expedient for the trade of the season, and the stations proper for each to report upon the number of servants, civil and military, in the different stations abroad, on the demand for alterations, and the applications made for leave of absence, or leave to return all complaints of grievances, and all pecuniary demands on the Company, were decided upon, in the first instance, by this Committee, which nominated to all places, in the treasury, and in the secretary's, examiner's, and auditor's offices. It performed, in fact, the prime and governing business of the Company the rest was secondary and subordinate.

The next Committee was that of Law-suits, of which the business was to deliberate and direct in all cases of litigation, and to examine the bills of law charges. It is not a little remarkable that there should be work of this description sufficient to engross the time of a committee.

The third was the Committee of Treasury. Its business was to provide, agreeably to the orders of the Court, for the payment of dividends and interest on bonds, to negotiate the Company's loans, to purchase gold and silver for exportation to affix the Company's seal to bonds and

Not in the East India Company alone, in the Park of England also, the
entitled ^{are} of which is similar, can he has always prevailed. Nor will the
colonists see be found to differ in any joint or sole resolution in the Hist. of
the Colonies here. So the dayes are come to introduce the dangerous
notion of the people being always eager to grasp at too much; nor the
people itself is it proper to prefer to them, to get them ready to
exert to that degree of, nor the consequences of which go to remove the
absolute reg. over

The following extract is taken from an official report on the business of the Company as related to the Land of Egypt, and transmitted originally by the Consul of France at Cairo. The extract is given in Mr. Bruce's Historical View of Egypt, the Government of Egypt, 1848, p. 103.

BOOK IV other deeds; to examine monthly or oftener, the balance
 CHAR. I of cash and to decide, in the first instance, on applica-
 1708. tions respecting the loss of bonds, on pecuniary questions
 in general, and the delivery of unregistered diamonds and
 bullion.

The Committee of Warehouses was the fourth. The business of importation was the principal part of its charge. It framed the orders for the species of goods of which the investment or importation was intended to consist; it had the superintendence of the servants employed in the inspection of the purchases; determined upon the modes of shipping and conveyance; superintended the landing and warehousing of the goods; arranged the order of sales and deliberated generally upon the means of promoting and improving the trade.

The fifth was the Committee of Accounts of whose duties the principal were to examine bills of exchange and money certificates to compare advices with bills to examine the estimates, and accounts of cash and stock; and to superintend the office of the accountant, and the office of transfer in which are effected the transfers of the Company's stock and annuities, and in which the foreign letters of attorney for that purpose are examined.

A committee, called the Committee of Buying, was the sixth. Its business was, to superintend the purchase and preparation of the standard articles of export, of which lead and woollens constituted the chief to contract with the dyers and other tradesmen; to audit their accounts, and keep charge of the goods till deposited in the ships for exportation.

The Committee of the House was the seventh, and its business was mostly of an inferior and ministerial nature. The alterations and repairs of the bulk-houses, regulations for the attendance of the several officers and clerks the appointment of the inferior servants of the House and the control of the secretary's accounts for domestic disbursements, were included in its province.

The eighth Committee, that of Shipping, had the charge of purchasing stores, and all other articles of export, except the grand articles appropriated to the Committee of Buying; the business of hiring ships, and of ascertaining the qualifications of their commanders and officers; of di-

tributing the outward cargoes , of fixing seamen's wages , BOOK IV
 of issuing orders for building, repairing, and fitting out the
 ships, packets, &c , of which the Company were proprietors ,
 and of regulating and determining the tonnage allowed for
 private trade, to the commanders and officers of the Com-
 pany's ships

CHAR I

1708

The ninth was the Committee of Private Trade , and its
 occupation was to adjust the accounts of freight, and other
 charges, payable on the goods exported for private account,
 in the chartered ships of the Company , to regulate the
 indulgences to private trade homeward and by examining
 the commanders of ships, and other inquiries, to ascertain
 how far the regulations of the Company had been violated
 or obeyed

The tenth Committee was of a characteristic description
 It was the committee for preventing the growth of private
 trade Its business was to take cognisance of all instances
 in which the license granted by the Company for private
 trade was exceeded , to decide upon the controversies to
 which the encroachments of the private traders gave birth ,
 and to make application of the penalties which were pro-
 vided for transgression So closely, however, did the pro-
 vinces of this and the preceding committee border upon one
 another , and so little, in truth, were their boundaries defined ,
 that the business of the one was not unfrequently trans-
 ferred to the other

Other transactions respecting the employment of troops ,
 and the government of territory, required additions to
 the system of committees, when the Company afterwards
 became conquerors and rulers But of these it will be
 time to speak when the events arrive which produced
 them

The chairmen, as the name imports, preside in the
 Courts, whether of directors or proprietors , they are the
 organs of official communication between the Company
 and other parties, and are by office members of all the
 committees

The articles in which the export branch of the Indian
 trade has all along consisted are bullion, lead, quicksilver,
 woollen cloths, and hardware, of which the proportions have
 varied at various times

The official value of all the exports to India, for the year

BOOK IV 1708, the year in which the union of the two Companies
 was completed, exceeded not £60,915. The following year

^{1708.} it rose to £168,357. But from this it descended gradually till, in the year 1715, it amounted to no more than £36,907. It made a start, however in the following year; and the medium exportation for the first twenty years, subsequent to 1708, was £92,281 per annum.¹ The average annual exportation of bullion during the same years was £442,350.

The articles of which the import trade of the East India Company chiefly consisted, were calicoes and the other woven manufactures of India raw silk, diamonds, tea, porcelain, pepper drugs, and saltpetre. The official value of their imports in 1708 was £493,257 and their annual average importation for this and the nineteen following years was £768,042. At that period, the official value assigned to goods at the Custom House differed not greatly from the real value and the statements which have been made by the East India Company of the actual value of their exports and imports for some of those years, though not according with the Custom House accounts from year to year probably from their being made up to different periods in the year yet on a sum of several years pretty nearly coincide. The business of sale is transacted by the East India Company in the way of auction. On stated days, the goods, according to the discretion of the Directors, are put up to sale at the India House and transferred to the highest bidder.

At first the Company built and owned the ships employed in their trade. But in the progress and subdivision of commerce, ship-owning became a distinct branch of business; and the Company preferred the hiring of ships, accordingly that from this time the trade of the Company was chiefly conveyed; and a few swift-sailing vessels, called packets, more for the purpose of intelligence than of freight, formed with some occasional exceptions, the only article of ship-

¹ Custom House Accounts. See H. Charles Wharton's *T. Moore*, p. 9.
 Try for example the sum of the parts of every year, from 1715, in Mr. Charles Wharton's *T. Moore*, and that in the Company's account. The table for instance No. 7 is the Appendix to Mr. Macpherson's *History of European Commerce with India*. See also, the 17th April 1800 Part II. vol. II. of *Vivar of India* for British India, p. 200.

ping which they properly called their own This regulation BOOK IV set free a considerable portion of the funds or resources of CHAP I the Company, for direct traffic, or the simple transactions of buying and selling¹

1708

That part of the business of the Company which was situated in India, was distinguished by several features which the peculiar circumstances of the country forced it to assume The sale, indeed, of the commodities imported from Europe, they transacted in the simplest and easiest of all possible ways, namely, by auction, the way in which they disposed of Indian goods in England. At the beginning of this trade, the English, as well as other European adventurers, used to carry their commodities to the interior towns and markets, transporting them in the bazaars of the country, and established factories or warehouses, where the goods were exposed to sale During the confusion, however, which prevailed, while the empire of the Moguls, was in the progress of dissolution, the security which had formerly existed, imperfect as it was, became greatly impaired, and, shortly after the union of the two Companies, a rule was adopted, not to permit any of the persons in the Company's service, or under their jurisdiction, to remove far into the inland country, without leave obtained from the Governor and Council of the place to which they belonged According to this plan, the care of distributing the goods into the country, and of introducing them to the consumers, was left to the native and other independent tribes

For the purchase, collection, and custody of the goods, which constituted the freight to England, a complicated system of operations was required. As the state of the country was too low in respect of civilisation and of wealth, to possess manufacturers and merchants, on a large scale, capable of executing extensive orders, and delivering the goods contracted for on pre-appointed days, the Company were under the necessity of employing their own agents to collect throughout the country, in such quantities as presented themselves, the different articles of which the cargoes to Europe were composed Places of reception were required, in which the goods might be collected, and ready upon the arrival of the ships, that the expense of demur-

¹ Ninth bye-law of the Company, in Russel's Collection of Statutes

BOOK IV rage might be reduced to its lowest terms. Warehouses
 CHAR. I were built; and these, with the counting-houses, and other
 1708 apartments for the agents and business of the place, con-
 stituted what were called the factories of the Company.
 Under the disorderly and inefficient system of government
 which prevailed in India, deposits of property were always
 exposed, either to the rapacity of the government, or
 under the weakness of the government, to the hands of
 predators. It was always, therefore, an object of impor-
 tance to build the factories strong, and to keep the inmates
 armed, and disciplined for self-defence, as perfectly as cir-
 cumstances would admit. At an early period, the Company
 even fortified those stations of their trade and maintained
 professional troops, as often as the negligence permitted, or
 the assent could be obtained, of the kings and governors of
 the countries in which they were placed.

Of the commodities collected for the European market,
 that part, the acquisition of which was attended with the
 greatest variety of operations, was the produce of the loom.
 The weavers, like the other laborious classes of India, are
 in the lowest stage of poverty being always reduced to the
 bare means of the most scanty subsistence. They must at
 all times, therefore, be furnished with the materials of their
 work, or the means of purchasing them and with subsis-
 tence while the piece is under their hands. To transact in
 this manner with each particular weaver to watch him that
 he may not sell the fabric which his employer has enabled
 him to produce, and to provide a large supply is a work of
 infinite detail, and gives employment to a multitude of
 agents. The European functionary who, in each district, is
 the head of as much business as it is supposed that he can
 superintend, has first his banyan, or native secretary
 through whom the whole of the business is conducted. The
 banyan hires a species of broker called a goonashthah, at
 so much a month the goonashthah repairs to the surung,
 or manufacturing town which is assigned as his station,
 and there fixes upon a habitation, which he calls his
 cutchery. He is provided with a sufficient number of jeens,
 a sort of armed servants, and hircarabs, messengers or let-
 ter carriers, by his employer. There he immediately de-
 spatches about the place to summon to him the dailis,
 pycirs and weavers. The dailis and pycirs are two sets of

brokers, of whom the pycârs are the lowest, transacting BOOK IV
the business of detail with the weavers, the dallâls again CHAP I
transact business with the pycârs the gomashtah transacts

1708

with the dallâls, the banyan with the gomashtah, and the Company's European servant with the banyan The Company's servant is thus five removes from the workman, and it may easily be supposed that much collusion and trick, that much of fraud towards the Company, and much of oppression towards the weaver, is the consequence of the obscurity which so much complication implies¹ Besides his banyan, there is attached to the European agent a mohurrer, or clerk, and a cash-keeper, with a sufficient allowance of peons and hucaials Along with the gomashtah is despatched in the first instance as much money as suffices for the first advance to the weaver, that is, as suffices to purchase the materials, and to afford him subsistence during part at least of the time in which he is engaged with the work The cloth, when made, is collected in a warehouse, adapted for the purpose, and called a kottah Each piece is marked with the weaver's name, and when the whole is finished, or when it is convenient for the gomashtah, he holds a kottah, as the business is called, when each piece is examined, the price fixed, and the money due upon it paid to the weaver This last is the stage at which chiefly the injustice to the workman is said to take place, as he is then obliged to content himself with fifteen or twenty, and often thirty or forty per cent less than his work would fetch in the market This is a species of traffic which could not exist but where the rulers of the country were favourable to the dealer, as everything, however, which increased the productive powers of the labourers added directly in India to the income of the rulers, their protection was but seldom denied

The business of India was at this time under the government of three Presidencies, one at Bombay, another at

¹ The obstinate adherence of the natives to their established customs, renders it not easy to quit the track which on any occasion they have formed, and, under the ignorance of their manners and character, which distinguishes the greater proportion of the Company's servants, it would be mischievous to attempt it. Where the agent, however, is intelligent, and acquainted with the language and manners of the people, he does simplify and improve the business to a certain degree, and were it performed by men who had an interest to establish themselves in the country, and who would make it a business, it would gradually acquire that rational form which the interest of a rational people would recommend

BOOK IV Madras, and a third at Calcutta, of which the last had been created so lately as the year 1707 the business at Calcutta having, till that time, been conducted under the government of the Presidency of Madras. These Presidencies had as yet no dependence upon one another each was absolute within its own limits, and responsible only to the Company in England. A Presidency was composed of a President or Governor and a Council both appointed by commission of the Company. The council was not any fixed number, but determined by the views of the Directors; being sometimes nine, and sometimes twelve, according to the presumed importance or extent of the business to be performed. The Members of the Council were the superior servants in the civil or non-military class, promoted according to the rule of seniority unless where directions from home prescribed otherwise. All power was lodged in the President and Council jointly nor could anything be transacted, except by a majority of votes. When any man became a ruler he was not however debarred from subordinate functions and the members of council, by natural consequence, distributed all the most lucrative offices among themselves.¹ Of the offices which any man held, that which was the chief source of his gain failed not to be the chief object of his attention and the business of the Council, the duties of governing did not, in general, engross the greatest part of the study and care of a Member of Council. It seldom, if ever happened, that less or more of the Members of Council were not appointed as chiefs of the more important factories under the Presidencies and by their absence, were not disqualified for assisting in the deliberations of the governing body. The irresistible motive thus afforded to the persons intrusted with the government, to neglect the business

¹ There were no lucrative offices, & many years before the Company's establishment. For some time the salaries of the chief of Bengal and Fort St. George did not exceed £100 per annum, and those of the merchant and factors, £100, £100, and £100 per annum. Even as late as the acquisition of all real power in Bengal, the salary of controller was £100, per annum, of factor £100, of a writer as then yearly £100, and £100. The sums taken made by the Company's servants, arose from their engaging in the internal trade and also in the trade by sea: all eastern ports north of P. Sagar except Timbuktu and Formosa (see the 1st p. 31). In either of these countries trade marks deposited upon evidence of payment; and so far the Company's servants were independent upon the principal, with whom it remained where to employ them. The official remuneration attached to any situation, were in all sorts of small amount.—W.

of government, occupied a high rank among the causes to BOOK IV
 which the defects at that time in the management of the CHAP I
 Company's affairs in India may, doubtless, be ascribed
 Notwithstanding the equality assigned to the votes of all
 the Members of the Council, the influence of the President
 was commonly sufficient to make the decisions agreeable to
 his inclination The appointment of the Members to the
 gainful offices after which they aspired, was in a consider-
 able degree subject to his determination , while he had it
 in his power to make the situation even of a member of the
 Council so uneasy to him, that his continuance in the ser-
 vice ceased to be an object of desire Under the notion of
 supporting authority, the Company always lent an unwill-
 ing ear to complaints brought by a subordinate against his
 superior , and in the case of councilmen disposed to com-
 plain, it seldom happened, that of the transactions in which
 they themselves had been concerned, a portion was not unfit
 to be revealed

1708

The powers exercised by the Governor or President and
 Council, were, in the first place, those of masters in regard
 to servants over all the persons who were in the employ-
 ment of the company , and as the Company were the sole
 master, without fellow or competitor, and those under
 them had adopted their service as the business of their
 lives, the power of the master, in reality, and in the ma-
 jority of cases, extended to almost everything valuable to
 man With regard to such of their countrymen, as were
 not in their service, the Company were armed with powers
 to seize them, to keep them in confinement, and send them
 to England , an extent of authority which amounted to
 confiscation of goods, to imprisonment, and what to a
 European constitution is the natural effect of any long
 confinement under an Indian climate, actual death¹ At
 an early period of the Company's history, it had been
 deemed necessary to intrust them with the powers of
 martial law, for the government of the troops which they
 maintained in defence of their factories and presidencies ;
 and by a charter of Charles II., granted them in 1661, the
 Presidents and Councils in their factories were empowered

¹ Close imprisonment, debarring a prisoner from air, light, and exercise alto-
 gether, has probably never been inflicted in India by an English government,
 and its effects, even if it had been, would not be necessarily more injurious to
 life than similar treatment elsewhere —W

BOOK IV settled in India, French, Dutch, and Portuguese and
 CHAP L partly at least at Bombay and Surat, of Topasses, or persons whom we may denominate Indo-Portuguese, either
 1708. the mixed produce of Portuguese and Indian parents, or converts to the Portuguese from the Indian faith. These were troops disciplined and uniformed besides whom, the natives were already to a small extent, employed by the Company in military service, and called Sepoys, from the Indian term Sipahi, equivalent to soldier. They were made to use the musket, but remained chiefly armed in the fashion of the country with sword and target they wore the Indian dress, the turban, cabay or vest, and long drawers and were provided with native officers according to the custom of the country; but ultimately all under English command. It had not as yet been attempted to train them to the European discipline, in which it was possible to render them so expert and steady but considerable service was derived from them; and under the conduct of European leaders they were found capable of facing danger with great constancy and firmness. What at this time was the average number at each presidency is not particularly stated. It is mentioned, that at the time when the presidency was established at Calcutta in 1707 an effort was made to augment the garrison to 300 men.

The President was the organ of correspondence by letter or otherwise, with the country powers. It rested with him to communicate to the Council the account of what he thus transacted, at any time and in any form, which he deemed expedient and from this no slight accession to his power was derived.

The several denominations of the Company's servants in India were writers, factors, junior merchants, and senior merchants the business of the writers, as the term, in some degree, imports, was that of clerking, with the inferior details of commerce; and when dominion succeeded, of government. In the capacity of writers they remained during five years. The first promotion was to the rank of factor; the next to that of junior merchant; in each of which the period of service was three years. After this extent of service they became senior merchants. And out of the class of senior merchants were taken by

seniority the members of the Council, and when no particular appointment interfered, even the presidents themselves¹

1708

Shortly after the first great era, in the history of the British commerce with India, the nation was delivered from the destructive burden of the long war with France which preceded the treaty of Utrecht and though the accession of a new family to the throne, and the resentments which one party of statesmen had to gratify against another, kept the minds of men for a time in a feverish anxiety, not the most favourable to the persevering studies and pursuits on which the triumphs of industry depend, the commerce and the wealth of the nation made rapid advances The town of Liverpool, which was not formed into a separate parish till 1699, so rapidly increased, that in 1715 a new parish, with a church, was erected , and it doubled its size between 1690 and 1726 The town of Manchester increased in a similar proportion , and was computed in 1727 to contain no less than 50,000 inhabitants the manufactures of Birmingham, which thirty years before was little more than a village, are stated as giving maintenance at that time to upwards of 30,000 individuals² In 1719, a patent was granted to Sir Thomas Lombe, for his machine for throwing silk, one of the first of those noble efforts of invention and enterprise which have raised this country to unrivalled eminence in the useful arts The novelty and powers of this machine, the model of which he is said to have stolen from the Piedmontese, into whose manufactories he introduced himself in the guise of a common workman, excited the highest admiration , and its parts and performances are described to us by the historians of the time with curious exactness , 26,586 wheels, 97,476 movements, which worked, 73,726 yards of organzine silk by every revolution of the water-wheel, 318,504,960 yards in one day and a night a single water-wheel giving motion to the whole machine, of which any separate movement might be stopped without obstructing the rest , and one fire communicating warmth by heated air to every part of the manufactory, not less

¹ See Ninth Report, Select Committee, 1783, p 11

² Anderson's History of Commerce, Anno 1727

BOOK IV than the eighth part of a mile in length.¹ London was
CHAPTER L increased by several new parishes. And from the year

^{1708-22.} 1708 to the year 1730, the imports of Great Britain, ac-
cording to the valuation of the custom-house, had in-
creased from 4,608,663*l.* to 7,80,019*l.*; the exports from
6,069,089*l.* to 11,974,135*l.*²

During this period of national prosperity the imports of the East India Company rose from 493,237*l.* the importation of 1708, to 1,00,8,759*l.* the importation of 1730. But the other and not the least important, the export branch of the Company's trade, exhibited another result. As the exportation of the year 1708 was exceedingly small, compared with that of 1709 and the following years, it is fair to take an average of four years from 1706 to 1709 (two with a small, two an increased exportation), producing 105,73*l.* The exportation of the year 1730 was 133,484*l.* while that of 1709 was 168,357*l.*; that of 1710, 120,310*l.* that of 1711, 151,84*l.* and that of 1712, 142,320*l.*

With regard to the rate of profit, during this period, or the real advantage of the Indian trade, the Company for part of the year 1708, divided at the rate of five per cent. per annum to the proprietors upon 3,163,900*l.* of capital for the next year eight per cent. for the two following years, nine per cent. and thence to the year 1716, ten per cent. per annum. In the year 1717 they paid dividends on a capital of 3,1010-0*l.* at the same ratio of ten per cent. per annum, and so on till the year 1733. That year the dividend was reduced to eight per cent. per annum, at which ratio it continued till the year 1735.

In the year 1712, on the petition of the Company the period of their exclusive trade was extended by act of parliament, from the year 1700, to which by the last regulation it stood confined, to the year 1733, with the usual allowance of three years for notice should their privileges be withdrawn.

In the year 1716, they obtained a proclamation against interlopers. Their complaints it seems, were occasioned by the enterprises of British subjects trading to India

¹ Anderson's History of Commerce, a.d. 1719.

² See Charles Whitehead's Table, part I, p. 74.

³ Third Edition from the Secret Committee of the House of Commons on the State of the East India Company in 1773, p. 72.

⁴ See Collection of Statutes, p. 42.

under foreign commissions As this proclamation an- BOOK IV
 swered not the wishes of the Company, nor deterred their CHAP I.
 countrymen from seeking the gains of Indian traffic, even
 through all the disadvantages which they incurred by in-
 trusting their property to the protection of foreign laws,
 and the fidelity of foreign agents, they were able, in 1718,
 to procure an act of parliament for the punishment of all
 such competitors British subjects, trading from foreign
 countries, and under the commission of a foreign govern-
 ment, were declared amenable to the laws for the protec-
 tion of the Company's rights, the Company were authorized
 to seize merchants of this description when found within
 their limits, and to send them to England, subject to a
 penalty of 500*l* for each offence¹

1708-23

The Company's present alarm for their monopoly arose from the establishment for trading with India, which under the authority of the Emperor, was formed at his port of Ostend After the peace of Utrecht, which bestowed the Netherlands upon the house of Austria, the people of those provinces began to breathe from the distractions, the tyranny, and the wars which had so long wasted their fruitful country Among other projects of improvement, a trade to India was fondly embraced Two ships, after long preparations, sailed from Ostend in the year 1717, under the passports of the Emperor, and several more soon followed their example The India Companies of Holland and England were in the highest degree alarmed, and easily communicated their fears and agitations to their respective governments These governments not only expostulated, and to the highest degree of importunity, with the Emperor himself, but, amid the important negotiations of that diplomatic period, hardly any interest was more earnestly contended for in the discussions at the courts both of Paris and Madrid² The Dutch captured some of the Ostend East India ships The Emperor, who dreamed of an inundation of wealth from Indian trade, persevered in his purpose, and granted his commission of reprisal to the merchants of Ostend

¹ Anderson's History of Commerce, A.D 1716 and 1718, and Collection of Statutes

² See Coke's Memoirs of Sir Robert and Lord Walpole, and History of the House of Austria, *ad annos*

BOOK IV In the beginning of 1720 they sent no fewer than six vessels to India, and as many the year that followed. The English East India Company pressed the Government with renewed terrors and complaints. They asserted that, not only the capital, with which the trade was carried on, was to a great degree furnished by British subjects, but the trade and navigation were conducted by men who had been bred up in the trade and navigation of the British Company. They procured, in 1721, another act of parliament, enforcing the penalties already enacted; and as this also failed in producing the intended effects, another act was passed in the spring of 1723 prohibiting foreign adventures to India, under the penalty of triple the sum embarked declaring all British subjects found in India and not in the service, or under the license of the East India Company guilty of a high misdemeanour and empowering the Company to seize, and send them home for punishment. The Emperor had been importuned, by the adventurers of Ostend, for a charter to make them an exclusive company but, under the notion of saving appearances in some little degree with England and Holland, or the maritime powers, as they were called in the diplomatic language of the day he had induced them to trade under passports as individuals. In the month of August, however of 1723, the charter was granted in less than twenty-four hours the subscription-books of the Company were filled up and in less than a month the shares were sold at a premium of fifteen per cent. Notwithstanding the virulent opposition of all the other nations, already engaged in the Indian trade, the Ostend Company experienced the greatest success. At a meeting of Proprietors in 1726, the remaining instalment on the subscriptions, equal to a dividend of thirty-three and one-third per cent., was paid up from the gains of the trade. But by this time political difficulties pressed upon the Emperor. He was abandoned by his only ally the King of Spain, and opposed by a triple alliance of France, England, and Holland. To give satisfaction to this potent confederacy and to obtain their support to the pragmatic sanction, or the guarantee of his dominions to his daughter and only child, he submitted to sacrifice the Ostend Company. To save ap-

pearances, and consult the imperial dignity, nothing was stipulated in words, except that the business of the Ostend Company should be suspended for seven years, but all men understood that, in this case, suspension and extinction were the same

BOOK IV

CHAP I

1708-23

By the act of 7 Geo I c 5, the Company were authorized to borrow money on their common seal, to the amount of the sums lent by them to government, if not beyond the sum of five millions sterlina in the whole. They were permitted, however to borrow solely for the purposes of their trade. They were expressly interdicted from receiving moneys in any of the capacities of a banker, and for that purpose several restrictive clauses were inserted in the act; they were not to borrow any sums payable on demand, or at a shorter date than six months, they were not to discount any bills, or to keep books or cash for any persons sole or corporate, or otherwise than for the real business of the Company¹.

When the Company commenced operations in India, upon the new foundation on which their affairs were placed by the grand arrangements in 1708, Shah Aulum, successor of Aurungzeb, was Emperor of the Moguls. His second son Azeem-oos-Shaun had been appointed Viceroy of Bengal before the death of Aurungzeb, and having bent his chief attention to the amassing of a treasure, against the impending contest between the competitors for the throne, he accepted the bribes of the company, and granted them proportional privileges. Under his authority they had purchased, in 1698, the Zemindarship of the three towns of Sutanutty, Calcutta, and Govindpore, with their districts. When Azeem-oos-Shaun left Bengal to assist his father, in the war which ensued upon the death of Aurungzeb, he left his son Ferokhser his deputy. In 1712 Shah Aulum died, Azeem-oos-Shaun lost his life in the struggle for the succession, and Ferokhser, by the help of two able chiefs, the Syed brothers, gained the throne. The government of Bengal now devolved upon Jaffier Khan, and the company experienced a change. This chief, of Tartar extraction, was born at Boorhanpore, in the Deccan, and rose to eminence in the latter part of the reign of Aurungzeb, by whom he had been appointed dewan (or comptroller of

¹ Collection of Statutes, p 50

BOOK IV the revenues) of Bengal. It would appear that he was nominated, by Shah Aulum, to the viceroyalty of Bengal, shortly after his accession to the throne but it is probable that, during the short reign of that prince, the appointment never took place as, at the time of his death, Ferokhsar was in possession of the province. Upon the departure, however, of Ferokhsar to ascend the imperial throne, Jaffier Khan was invested with entire authority as subahdar of Bengal and the English Company along with his other subjects, began speedily to feel the effects of his severe and oppressive administration.¹

In 1713, the first year of the reign of Ferokhsar the President of Calcutta applied to the Company at home for leave to send an embassy with a handsome present, to the Mogul durbar in hopes of obtaining greater protection and privileges. Two of the Company's factors, under the direction of an Armenian merchant, named Serhand, set out for Delhi and the Emperor who had received the most magnificent account of the presents of which they were the bearers, ordered them to be escorted by the governors of the provinces through which they were to pass.

They arrived at the capital on the eighth of July 1715 after a journey of three months; and, in pursuance of the advice which had been received at Calcutta, applied themselves to gain the protection of Khan Dowran,² a nobleman in favour with the Emperor and in the interest of Emir Jumla. Whatever was promoted by the interest

¹ Orme's History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in India, L. 17-19. See M. Takkaross L. 17 od 294.

² He is named Cassandros by M. Orme (Ibid. p. 30), who erroneously makes Hossein instead of Abdolah Khan, Virir.—M. It has already been mentioned, that great distinction is to be made in the merit of Orme as a historian. For all that regards the transactions of the British in India he may be relied on; he was present at much that he relates; he was acquainted with the principal persons engaged, and maintained an active correspondence with them; and he made diligent use of many valuable public and private documents in the English language; but it is evident that he was no Orientalist; and, consequently had no access to written such information as had regard transactions purely Indian; therefore he is by no means safe authority to constantly misleads names, and confounds persons and events. As Dowran is the name of the personage whom he calls by the signification Cassandros, and mistakes the misstatement of one Ajit brother for the other here prints I see, he is writing as to the name of the father of Ferokhsar's wife, who was Ajit Singh, not Jawanwai Kirb, as he call Akha, and before as before took part in the events of this period. Now, as he derives his knowledge from native historians, is much more accurate. According to Bârcampur, Dr. T. Rajchaz, L. 491.—W.

of Emir^k Jumla was opposed by that of the vizir The BOOK IV influence also of Jaffier Khan was exerted to defeat an application, which tended to abridge his authority, and impeach his government The embassy and costly present of the Company were doomed to imperial neglect, had not an accident, over which they had no control, and the virtue of a public-spirited man, who preferred their interest to his own, opened an avenue to the grace of Ferokhser The intemperance of that prince had communicated to him a secret disease, from which the luxury of the harem does not always exempt Under the unskilful treatment of Indian physicians, the disorder lingered and the Emperor's impatience was augmented, by the delay which it imposed upon the celebration of his marriage with the daughter of the Raja of Jodpore A medical gentleman of the name of Hamilton accompanied the embassy of the English Company The Emperor was advised to make trial of his skill a cure was the speedy consequence The Emperor commanded his benefactor to name his own reward and the generous Hamilton solicited privileges for the Company¹ The festival of the marriage, however, ensued, during which it would not have been decorous to importune with business the imperial mind, and six months elapsed before the ambassadors could present their petition It was delivered in January, 1716, and prayed, "that the cargoes of English ships, wrecked on the Mogul's coast, should be protected from plunder, that a fixed sum should be received at Surat in lieu of all duties, that three villages, contiguous to Madras, which had been granted and again resumed by the government of Arcot, should be restored in perpetuity, that the island of Diu, near the port of Masulipatam, should be given to the Company, for an annual rent, that all persons in Bengal, who might be indebted to the Company, should be delivered up to the presidency on the first demand, that a passport (*dustuck*, in the language of the country), signed by the president of Calcutta should exempt the goods which it specified from stoppage or examination by the officers of the Bengal

1708-23

¹ This incident is related with some additional circumstances by Scott, History of Aurungzebe's Successors, p 139 From the manner in which he speaks of the Emperor's disease (he speaks very vaguely), he appears not to have thought it of the sort which is generally represented the question is of small importance

BOOK IV government and that the Company should be permitted
 CHAR. I to purchase the Zemindarship of thirty-seven towns, in
 1708-12. the same manner as they had been authorized by Azeem-
 oos-Shah to purchase Calcutta, Sutanutty and Govind-
 pore. The power of the vizir could defeat the grants of
 the Emperor himself and he disputed the principal
 articles. Repeated applications were made to the Em-
 peror and at last the vizir gave way when mandates were
 issued confirming all the privileges for which the petition
 had prayed. To the disappointment, however and grief of
 the ambassadors, the mandates were not under the seals of
 the Emperor but only those of the vizir the authority of
 which the distant viceroys would be sure to dispute. It was
 resolved to remonstrate, how delicate soever the ground on
 which they must tread and to solicit mandates to which
 the highest authority should be attached. It was now the
 month of April, 1710, when the Emperor at the head of
 an expedition against the Seiks, began his march towards
 Lahora. No choice remained but to follow the camp.
 The campaign was tedious. It heightened the dissensions
 between the favourites of the Emperor and the vizir; the
 ambassadors found their difficulties increased and con-
 templated a long and probably a fruitless negotiation,
 when they were advised to bribe a favourite eunuch in the
 seraglio. No sooner was the money paid than the vizir
 himself appeared eager to accomplish their designs, and
 the patents were issued under the highest authority.
 There was a secret, of which the eunuch had made his
 advantage. The factory of Surat, having lately been op-
 pressed by the Mogul governor and officers, had been
 withdrawn by the Presidency of Bombay as not worth
 maintaining. It was recollectcd by the Moguls, that, in
 consequence of oppression, the factory of Surat had once
 before been withdrawn immediately after which an
 English fleet had appeared had swept the sea of Mogul
 ships, and inflicted a deep wound upon the Mogul trea-
 sury. A similar visitation was now regarded as a cer-
 tain consequence and, as many valuable ships of the
 Moguls were at sea, the event was deprecated with pro-
 portional ardour. This intelligence was transmitted to
 the eunuch, by his friend the viceroy of Guzerat. The
 eunuch knew what effect it would produce upon the mind

of the vizir, obtained his bribe from the English and then communicated to the vizir the expectation prevalent in Guzerat of a hostile visit from an English fleet. The vizir hastened to prevent such a calamity, by granting satisfaction. The patents were despatched, and the ambassadors took leave of the Emperor in the month of July 1717, two years after their arrival.

BOOK IV
CHAR I

1708-23

The mandates in favour of the Company produced their full effect in Guzerat and the Deccan but in Bengal, where the most important privileges were conceded, the subahdar, or nabob as he was called by the English, had power to impede their operations. The thirty-seven towns which the Company had obtained leave to purchase, would have given them a district extending ten miles from Calcutta on each side of the river Hoogley, where a number of weavers, subject to their own jurisdiction, might have been established. The viceroy ventured not directly to oppose the operation of an imperial mandate, but his authority was sufficient to deter the holders of the land from disposing of it to the Company, and the most important of the advantages aimed at by the embassy was thus prevented. The nabob, however, disputed not the authority of the President's dustucks, a species of passport which entitled the merchandise to pass from duty, stoppage, or inspection, and this immunity, from which the other European traders were excluded, promoted the vent of the Company's goods.¹

The trade of the Company's servants occasioned another dispute. Besides the business which the factors and agents of the Company were engaged to perform on the Company's account, they had been allowed to carry on an independent traffic of their own, for their own profit. Every man had in this manner a double occupation and pursuit, one for the benefit of the Company, and one for the benefit of himself. Either the inattention of the feebly interested Directors of a common concern had overlooked the premium for neglecting that concern, which was thus bestowed upon the individuals intrusted with it in India, or the shortness of their foresight made them count this neglect a smaller evil than the additional salaries which their servants, if debarred from other sources of emolument, would probably

¹ Orme, Hist ut supra, ii 20—25

BOOK IV require. The President of Calcutta granted his dustucks
 CHAP L for protecting from the duties and taxes of the native
 1730 government, not only the goods of the Company but also
 the goods of the Company's servants and possibly the
 officers of that government were too little acquainted with
 the internal affairs of their English visitants to remark the
 distinction. The Company had appropriated to themselves
 in all its branches, the trade between India and the mother
 country. Their servants were thus confined to what was
 called "the country trade," or that from one part of India to
 another. This consisted of two branches, maritime and inland; either that which was carried on by ships from one
 port of India to another and from the ports of India to the
 other countries in the adjacent seas or that which was
 carried on by land between one town or province and another. When the dustucks of the President, therefore were
 granted to the Company's servants, they were often granted
 to protect from duties, commodities, the produce of the
 kingdom itself, in their passage by land from one district or
 province to another. This, Jaffier Khan, the viceroy de-
 clared it his intention to prevent as a practice at once
 destructive to his revenue, and ruinous to the native
 traders, on whom heavy duties were imposed and he com-
 manded the dustucks of the President to receive no respect,
 except for goods, either imported by sea, or purchased for
 exportation. The Company remonstrated, but in vain. Nor
 were the pretensions of their servants exempt from unplea-
 sant consequences as the pretext of examining whether
 the goods were really imported by sea, or really meant for ex-
 portation, often produced those interferences of the officers of
 revenue, from which it was so great a privilege to be saved.
 Interrupted and disturbed in their endeavours to grasp
 the inland trade the Company's servants directed their
 ardour to the maritime branch and their superior skill
 soon induced the merchants of the province Mroors, Armen-
 ians and Hindus, to freight most of the goods, which they
 exported, on English bottoms. Within ten years from the
 period of the embassy the shipping of the port of Calcutta
 increased to 10,000 tons.

The year 1730 was distinguished by transactions of con-
 siderable moment in the history of the Company. In
 England a new sovereign had but lately ascended the throne;

an active and powerful Opposition made a greater use of BOOK IV
the press, and more employed the public mind as a power CHAP I
in the state, than any party which had gone before them,
success rendered the trading interest enterprising and high-
minded, intellect was becoming every day more enlightened,
more penetrating, more independent, and experience
testified the advantages of freedom in all the departments
of trade

1730

Though the gains of the East India Company, had they been exactly known, would not have presented an object greatly calculated to inflame mercantile cupidity, yet the riches of India were celebrated as proverbially great, the boastings of the Company, in the representations they had made of the benefit derived to the nation from trading with India, had confirmed the popular prejudice, and a general opinion seems to have prevailed, that the British subjects at large ought to be no longer debarred from enriching themselves in the trade which was invidiously, and, it seemed imprudently, reserved for the East India Company

Three years were still unexpired of the period of the Company's exclusive charter yet the plans of those who desired a total alteration in the scheme of the trade were moulded into form, and a petition, grounded upon them, was presented to the legislature so early as February, 1730

As the payment of 3,200,000*l* which the Company had advanced to government at an interest of five per cent. was a condition preliminary to the abolition of their exclusive privileges, the petitioners offered to lend to government an equal sum on far more favourable terms They proposed to advance the money in five instalments, the last at Lady-day in 1733, the date of the expiration of the Company's charter, requiring, till that period, interest on the money paid at the rate of four per cent., but offering to accept of two per cent for the whole sum, from that time forward whence, they observed, a saving would accrue to the public of 92,000*l* per annum, worth, at twenty-five years' purchase, 2,500,000*l*¹

¹ See a distinct summary of the proposals, and of the arguments *pro* and *con*, in Anderson's History of Commerce, A.D. 1730 or the proceedings in Parliament, consult the Journals, with Boyer's Political State, and Hansard's Parliamentary History

BOOK IV

CHAP I

1730.

For the more profitable management of this branch of the national affairs, the following was the scheme which they proposed. They would constitute the subscribers to this original fund a company for the purpose of opening the trade, in its most favorable shape, to the whole body of their countrymen. It was not intended that the Company should trade upon a joint stock, and in their corporate capacity but that every man in the nation, who pleased, should trade in the way of private adventure. The Company were to have the charge of erecting and maintaining the forts and establishments abroad; and for this, and for other expenses, attending what was called "the enlargement and preservation of the trade, it was proposed that they should receive a duty of one per cent. on all exports to India, and of five per cent. on all imports from it. For ensuring obedience to this and other regulations, it should be made lawful to trade to India only under the license of the Company. And it was proposed that thirty-one years, with three years notice, should be granted as the duration of the peculiar privileges.

It appears from this account, that the end which was proposed to be answered, by incorporating such a company was the preservation and erection of the fort buildings, and other fixed establishments, required for the trade in India. This was its only use, or intent; for the business of trading, resigned to private hands, was to be carried on by the individuals of the nation at large. And, if it were true, as it has been always maintained, that for the trade of India, forts and factories are requisite of such a nature as no individual, or precarious combination of individuals, is competent to provide this project offers peculiar claims to consideration and respect. It promised to supply that demand which has always been held forth, as peculiar to Indian trade, as the grand exigency which, distinguishing the traffic with India from all other branches of trade, rendered monopoly advantageous in that peculiar case, how much sooner proved to be injurious in others. While it provided for this real or pretended want, it left the trade open to all the advantages of private enterprise, private vigilance, private skill, and private economy; the virtues by which individuals thrive and nations prosper and it afforded an interest

to the proposed Company, in the careful discharge of its BOOK IV duty , as its profits were to increase in exact proportion with the increase of the trade, and of course, with the facilities and accommodation by which the trade was promoted

CHAP I.

1730

As no trade was to be carried on by the Company, the source, whence dividends to the proprietors would arise, was the interest to be received from Government, and the duties upon the exports and imports and as the territorial and other duties belonging to the forts and establishments in India were deemed sufficient to defray the expense of those establishments, this source was described as competent to yield an annual return of five or six per cent upon the capital advanced Under absence of risk, and the low rate of interest at the time, this was deemed a sufficient inducement to subscribe Had the pernicious example, of lending the stock of trading companies to Government, been rejected, a very small capital would have sufficed to fulfil the engagements of such a company , and either the gains upon it would have been uncommonly high, or the rate of duties upon the trade might have been greatly reduced

The friends of this proposition urged , that, as the change which had taken place in the African trade, from monopoly to freedom, was allowed to have produced great national advantages, it was not to be disputed, that a similar change in the India trade would be attended with benefits so much the greater, as the trade was more valuable , that it would produce a larger exportation of our own produce and manufactures to India, and create employment for a much greater number of ships and seamen , that it would greatly reduce the price of all Indian commodities to the people at home , that it would enable the nation to supply foreign markets with Indian commodities at a cheaper rate, and, by consequence, to a larger amount , that new channels of traffic would thence be opened, in Asia and America, as well as in Europe , that a free trade to India would increase the produce of the customs and excise, and "thereby lessen the national debt," that it would introduce a much more extensive employment of British shipping from one part of India to another, from which great profit would arise , and that it

BOOK IV would prevent the nation from being deprived of the resources of those who, for want of permission or opportunity at home were driven to employ their skill and capital in the Indian trade of other countries.

1780

The attention of the nation seems to have been highly excited. Three petitions were presented to the House of Commons, from the merchants, traders, &c., of the three chief places of foreign trade in England, London, Bristol, and Liverpool, in behalf of themselves and all other His Majesty's subjects, praying that the trade to India might be laid open to the nation at large, and that they might be heard by their counsel at the bar of the House. The press, too, yielded a variety of productions, which compared with one another the systems of monopoly and free trade, and showed, or pretended to show the preference due to the last. Though competition might appear to reduce the gains of individuals, it would, by its exploring sagacity its vigilance, address, and economy even with an equal capital, undoubtedly increase the mass of business in other words, the annual produce; that is to say the riches and prosperity of the country. The superior economy the superior despatch, the superior intelligence and skill of private adventure, while they enable the dealers to traffic on cheaper terms, were found by experience to yield a profit on the capital employed, not inferior to what was yielded by monopoly by the business, for example of the East India Company, whose dividends exceeded not eight per cent. Whatever was gained by the monopolizing company in the high prices at which it was enabled to sell, or the low prices at which it was enabled to buy was all lost by its dilatory, negligent, and wasteful management. This was not production, but the reverse; it was not enriching a nation, but preventing its being enriched¹.

The Company manifested their usual ardour in defence of the monopoly. They magnified the importance of the trade; and asked if it was wise to risk the loss of known advantages, of the greatest magnitude, in pursuit of others

¹ It was asserted by the merchant and, as far as appears, without contradiction, that foreigners possessed at least third part of the stock of the East India Company; and one-third of their gains was then made for the benefit of other countries. Political State, 2 v. 1777 issue. 242.

which were only supposed, they alleged that it was envy BOOK IV
which stimulated the exertions of their opponents, covet- CHAP I
ing the gains of the Company, but unable to produce any —————
instance of misconduct, without going forty years back for
the materials of then interested accusations the Com-
pany employed an immense stock in trade, their sales
amounting to about three millions yearly The customs,
about £300,000 per annum, for the service of Government,
ought not to be sacrificed for less than a certainty of an
equal supply, and the maintenance of the forts and fac-
tories cost £300,000 a year Where, they asked, was the
security, that an open trade, subject to all the fluctuation
of individual fancy, one year liable to be great, another to
be small, would afford regularly an annual revenue of
£600,000, for customs and forts ? By the competition of
so many buyers in India, and of so many sellers in Europe,
the goods would be so much enhanced in price in the one
place, and so much reduced in the other, that all profit
would be destroyed, and the competitors, as had happened
in the case of the rival companies, would end with a scene
of general ruin

Under the increased experience of succeeding times, and
the progress of the science of national wealth, the argu-
ments of the Company's opponents have gained, those of
the Company have lost, a portion of strength To exag-
gerate the importance of the Indian trade, and, because it
is important, assume that the monopoly ought to remain,
is merely to say, that when a thing is important, it ought
never to be improved, in things of no moment society
may be allowed to make progress, in things of magnitude
that progress ought ever to be strenuously and unbendingly
opposed This argument is, unhappily, not confined to
the case of the East India Company Whoever has atten-
tively traced the progress of government, will find that it
has been employed by the enemies of improvement, at
every stage, and only in so far as it has been disregarded
and contemned, has the condition of man ascended above
the miseries of savage life Instead of the maxim, "A
thing is important, therefore it ought not to be improved,"
reason would doubtless suggest that the more anything is
important, the more its improvement should be studied
and pursued When a thing is of small importance, a

BOOK IV small inconvenience may suffice to dismame the pursuit of its improvement. When it is of great importance, a great inconvenience alone can be allowed to produce that unhappy effect. If it be said, that where much is enjoyed, care should be taken to avoid its loss this is merely to say that man ought to be prudent; which is very true, but surely authorizes no such inference, as that improvement, in matters of importance should be always opposed.

1780.

The Company quitted the argument, to exminate the arguers. The objections to the monopoly were the impure and odious offspring of avaricious envy. But, if the monopoly as the opponents said, was a bad thing, and free trade a good thing; from whatever motive they spoke the good thing was to be adopted, the evil to be abunned. The question of their motives was one thing the truth or falsehood of their positions another. When truth is spoken from a bad motive, it is no less truth; nor is it less entitled to its command over human action, than when it is spoken from the finest motive which can enter the human breast. If otherwise, an ill-designing man would enjoy the wonderful power, by recommending a good course of action to render a bad one obligatory upon the human race.

If, as they argued, the East India Company had a large stock in trade, that was no reason why the monopoly should remain. The capital of the mercantile body of Great Britain was much greater than the capital of the East India Company and of that capital, whatever proportion could find a more profitable employment in the Indian trade, than in any other branch of the national industry the Indian trade would be sure to receive.

With regard to the annual expense of the forts and factories, it was asserted by the opponents of the Company and, as far as appears, without contradiction, that they defrayed their own expense, and supported themselves.

As to the customs paid by the East India Company all trade paid customs, and if the Indian trade increased under the system of freedom, it would pay a greater amount of customs than it paid before; if it decreased, the capital now employed in it would seek another destination, and pay customs and taxes in the second channel as well as the first. To lay stress upon the customs paid by the Com-

pany, unless to take advantage of the gross ignorance of a minister, or of a parliament was absurd.

BOOK IV
CHAP I

1730.

The argument, that the competition of free trade would make the merchants buy so dear in India, and sell so cheap in England, as to ruin themselves, however depended upon, was contradicted by experience. What hindered this effect, in trading with France, in trading with Holland, or any other country? Or what hindered it in every branch of business within the kingdom itself? If the two East India Companies ruined themselves by competition, why reason from a case which bore no analogy whatsoever to the one under contemplation, while the cases which exactly corresponded, those of free trade, and boundless competition, led to a conclusion directly the reverse. If two East India Companies ruined one another, it was only an additional proof, that they were ineligible instruments of commerce. The ruin proceeded, not from the nature of competition, but the circumstances of the competitors. Where two corporate bodies contended against one another, and the ruin of the one left the field vacant to the other, their contention might very well be ruinous, because each might hope, that, by exhausting its antagonist in a competition of loss, it would deliver itself from its only rival. Where every merchant had not one, but a multitude of competitors, the hope was clearly vain of wearing all of them out by a contest of loss. Every merchant, therefore, would deal on such terms alone, as allowed him the usual, or more than the usual rate of profit, and he would find it his interest to observe an obliging, rather than a hostile deportment towards others, that they might do the same toward him. As it is this principle which produces the harmony and prosperity of trade in all other cases in which freedom prevails, it remained to be shown why it would not produce them in the Indian trade.

The subject was introduced into parliament, and discussed. But the advocates for the freedom of the trade were there overruled, and those of monopoly triumphed.

In order to aid the parliament in coming to such a decision as the Company desired, and to counteract in some degree the impression likely to be made by the proposal of their antagonists to accept of two per cent for the whole of the loan to Government, they offered to reduce

BOOK IV the interest from five to four per cent., and, as a premium
year 1 for the renewal of their charter, to contribute a sum of

¹⁷³² £200,000 to the public service. On these conditions it
 was enacted that the exclusive privileges should be pro-
 longed to Lady-day in the year 1766, with the usual addi-
 tion of three years' notice, and a proviso that nothing in
 this arrangement should be construed to limit their power
 of continuing a body corporate, and of trading to India on
 their joint stock with other of their fellow-subjects, even
 after their exclusive privileges should expire.¹

On the ground on which the affairs of the East India Company were now established, they remained till the year 1744. From 1730 to that year the trade of the Company underwent but little variation. Of goods exported, the amount indeed was considerably increased; but as in this stores were included, and as the demand for stores, by the extension of forts, and increase of military apparatus, was augmented, the greater part of the increase of exports may be justly set down to this account. The official value of the goods imported had kept rather below a million annually sometimes indeed exceeding that sum, but commonly the reverse, and some years to a considerable amount; with little or no progressive improvement from the beginning of the period to the end. The exports had increased from £133,484, the exportation of the first year to £476,274 that of the last. But the greater part of the increase had taken place after the prospect of wars and the necessity of military preparations when a great addition was demanded in the article of stores.

In the year 1731, the Company first began to make up annual accounts; and from that period we have regular statements of the actual purchase of their exports, and the actual sale of their imports. In the year 1732, the sales of the Company amounted to £1,040,000. In 1744 they amounted to £1,097,400; and in all the intermediate years were less. The quantity of goods and stores paid for in the year 1732 amounted to £103,230; the quantity paid

¹ As corporate body is often hurt by its master, the Company alleged that they had right, by previous Act of Parliament, to the monopoly in perpetuity; but, to avoid disputes, they consented to waive this claim for a certainty of thirty-six years. See Mr. J. H. Cole's Collection of Statutes, p. 72. Andress, vol. vi. 1730. Ital. Ital. 111. 2d. 2d.

² Sir Charles Waller's Tables, part II. p. 9.

for in 1744, to £231,318 BOOK IV.
 in 1732, was £393,377 , the quantity exported in 1744, was CHAP I
 £458,544. The quantity, then, of goods exported was increased,
 and in some degree, also, that of bullion, while the quantity of goods imported remained nearly the same It follows, that the additional exportation, not having been employed in the additional purchase of goods, must have been not merchandise, but stores It is to be observed also, that in the amount of sales, as exhibited in the Company's accounts, were included at this time the duties paid to Government, stated at thirty per cent , a deduction which brings the amount of the sales to nearly the official valuation of the imports at the Custom-house¹

In 1732, the Company were obliged to reduce their dividends from eight to seven per cent per annum , and at this rate they continued till 1744, in which year they returned to eight per cent² The Dutch East India Company, from 1730 to 1736, divided twenty-five per cent per annum upon the capital stock , in 1736, twenty per cent , for the next three years, fifteen per cent per annum , for the next four, twelve and a half per annum , and, in 1744, as much as fifteen per cent³ The grand advantage of the English East India Company, in the peculiar privilege of having their trade exempted from duties in Bengal and in the other concessions obtained by their embassy to the court of the Mogul, had thus produced no improvement in the final result, the ultimate profits of the trade

The Company seem to have been extremely anxious to avoid a renewal of the discussion on the utility or fitness of the monopoly, and, for that purpose, to forestal the excitement of the public attention by the approach to the conclusion of the privileged term. At a moment accordingly, when no one was prepared to oppose them , and in the middle of an expensive war, when the offer of any pecuniary facilities was a powerful bribe to the Govern-

¹ Third Report of the Committee of Secrecy, on the State of the East India Company (House of Commons, 1773), p 75

²

² Ibid p 73

³ Histoire Philosoph et Polit des Establissemens, etc , dans les Deux Indes, par Guillaume Thras Raynal, liv ii. sect. 21 Table at the end of the volume

BOOK IV
CHAP I
1746.

ment, they made a proposal to lend to it the sum of one million, at an interest of three per cent, provided the period of their exclusive privileges should be prolonged to three years' notice after Lady-day 1780. On these conditions, a new Act was passed in 1744 and to enable the Company to make good their loan to Government, they were authorised to borrow to the extent of a million of their bonds.

On the death of the Emperor Charles VI, in the year 1740, a violent war kindled by competition for the imperial throne, and for a share in the spoils of the house of Austria, had begun in Germany. In this contest, France and England, the latter involved by her Hanoverian interests, had both engaged as auxiliaries and in the end had become nearly or rather altogether principals. From 1739 England had been at war with Spain, a war intended to annul the right claimed and exercised by the Spaniards, of searching English ships on the coast of America, for contraband goods. England and France, though contending against one another with no ordinary efforts, in a cause ostensibly not their own, abstained from hostilities directly on their own account, till 1744; when the two Governments came to mutual declarations of war. And it was not long before the most distant settlements of the two nations felt the effects of their destructive contentions.

On the 14th of September 1746, a French fleet anchored four leagues to the south of Madras and landed five or six hundred men. On the 15th the fleet moved along the coast, while the troops marched by land; and about noon it arrived within cannon-shot of the town. Labourdonnais, who commanded the expedition, then landed, with the rest of the troops. The whole force destined for the siege, consisted of 1000 or 1100 Europeans, 400 Sepoys, and 400 Caffres, or blacks of Madagascar brought from the island of Mauritius. 1700 or 1800 men, all sorts included, remained in the ships.¹

¹ Anderson's History of Coromandel, vol. ii. 1746; Collection of Statutes, p. 84, 17 Oct. 11. 17

Labourdonnais, L 131. M. Orme L 67 says the 17th the difference being that of the style. The old style 11 appears, was used by the English historians.

McLeod, 1st edit. p. 121. Orme p. 67

Madras had, during the space of 100 years, been the BOOK IV principal settlement of the English on the Coromandel coast The territory belonging to the Company extended five miles along the shore, and was about one mile in breadth The town consisted of three divisions The first, denominated the white town, in which resided none but the English, or Europeans under their protection, consisted of about fifty houses, together with the warehouses and other buildings of the Company, and two churches, one an English, the other a Roman Catholic church. This division was surrounded with a slender wall, defended with four bastions, and four batteries, but weak and badly constructed, decorated with the title of Fort St George Contiguous to it, on the north side, was the division in which resided the Armenian, and the richest of the Indian merchants, larger, and still worse fortified than the former And on the northern side of this division was a space, covered by the hovels of the country, in which the mass of the natives resided. These two divisions constituted what was called the black town The English in the colony exceeded not 300 men, of whom 200 were the soldiers of the garrison. The Indian Christians, converts or descendants of the Portuguese, amounted to three or four thousand , the rest were Armenians, Mohammedans, or Hindus, the last in by far the largest proportion , and the whole population of the Company's territory amounted to about 250,000 With the exception of Goa and Batavia, Madras was, in point both of magnitude and riches, the most important of the European establishments in India¹

The town sustained the bombardment for five days, when the inhabitants, expecting an assault, capitulated They had endeavoured to save the place, by the offer of a ransom , but Labourdonnais coveted the glory of displaying French colours on the ramparts of fort St George He engaged, however, his honour to restore the settlement,

¹ A Letter to a proprietor of India Stock, published in 1750, by a person who was evidently concerned in the government of Madras at the time, states, that the soldiers were not only few, but of a very indifferent description , that the town was ill provided with ammunition stores, and that its fortifications were in a ruinous condition the necessity for rigid economy at home, having withheld the means of maintaining the establishment abroad in a state of efficiency —W

CHAP I
1746

BOOK IV and content himself with a moderate ransom; and on
CHAP. I. these terms he was received into the town.¹ He had not

 1745. lost so much as one man in the enterprise. Among the
 English four or five were killed by the explosion of the
 bombs, and two or three houses were destroyed, Labour
 donnais protected the inhabitants, with the care of a man
 of virtue; but the magazines and warehouses of the Com-
 pany as public property, were taken possession of by the
 commissioners of the French.²

Labourdonnais, with the force under his command, had arrived in India in the month of June, 1740. At that time the settlements of France in the Indian seas were under two separate governments, analogous to the English Presidencies; one established at the Isle of France the other at Pondicherry. Under the former of these governments were placed the two islands; the one called the Isle of France, about sixty leagues in circumference, the other that of Bourbon, of nearly the same dimensions. These islands, lying on the eastern side of Madagascar between the nineteenth and twentieth degrees of latitude were discovered by the Portuguese, and by them called Cerne and Mascarenhas. In 1660 seven or eight Frenchmen settled on the island of Mascarenhas; five years afterwards they were joined by twenty-two of their countrymen; the remains of the French colony which was destroyed in Madagascar sought refuge in this island; and when it became an object of some importance, the French changed its name to the Island of Bourbon. The Island of Cerne was, at an early date taken possession of by the Dutch, and by them denominated the Island of Mauritius, in honour of their leader Maurice Prince of Orange; but, after the formation of their establishment at the Cape of Good Hope, was abandoned as useless. The French, who were subject to great inconvenience by want of a good harbour on the Island of Bourbon, took possession of it in 1720 and changed its name from the Isle of Mauritius to the Isle of France. Both islands are fruitful, and pro-

The narrative in the preceding note describes the attack
 place at home in respect to the payment of 100,000 francs by the
 agent of Mairat, & refers merely to the extent of 100,000 francs. It
 is intimated, were presented to the French commander the price of his ser-
 vice - W.

¹ Voir pour Labourdonnais, &c. L 126—152. Once 164—72.

duce the corn of Europe, along with most of the tropical productions Some plants of coffee, accidentally introduced from Arabia, succeeded so well on the island of Bourbon, as to render that commodity the staple of the island.¹

BOOK IV
CHAP. I.

1746

Pondicherry was the seat of the other Indian government of the French. It had under its jurisdiction the town and territory of Pondicherry, and three factories, or *Comptoirs*, one at Mahé, not far south from Tellicherry on the Malabar coast, one at Karaikal on one of the branches of the Coleroon on the Coromandel coast, and one at Chandernagor on the river Hoogley in Bengal.²

The form of the government at both places was the same. It consisted, like the English, the form of which was borrowed from the Dutch, of a Governor, and a Council, the Governor being President of the Council, and allowed, according to the genius of the government in the mother country, to engross from the council a greater share of power than in the colonies of the English and Dutch. The peculiar business of the Governor and Council was, to direct, in conformity with instructions from home, all persons in the employment of the Company, to regulate the expenditure, and take care of the receipts, to administer justice, and in general to watch over the whole economy of the establishment. Each of the islands had a Council of its own, but one Governor sufficed for both.³

In 1745, Labourdonnais was appointed Governor of the islands. This was a remarkable man. He was born at St Malo, in 1699, and was entered on board a ship bound for the South Sea at the age of ten. In 1713, he made a voyage to the East Indies and the Philippine islands, and availed himself of the presence of a Jesuit, who was a passenger in the ship, to acquire a knowledge of the mathematics. After performing several voyages to other parts of the world, he entered for the first time, in 1719, into the service of the East India Company, as second lieutenant of a vessel bound to Surat. He sailed again to India, as first lieutenant in 1723, and a third time, as second

¹ Raynal, ii. 271 Mémoire pour Labourdonnais, i 88, 95 Orme, i 92.

² Mémoire, ut supra, p 94 Raynal, ut supra, p 217

³ Mémoire pour Labourdonnais, i 95 Mémoire contre Dupleix, p 8

BOOK IV captain in 1724. In every voyage he found opportunity
 CHAP. I. to distinguish himself by some remarkable action and
 F^{145.} during the last he acquired, from another passenger an
 officer of engineers, a knowledge of the principles of fortifi-
 cation and tactics. He now resolved to remain in India,
 and to navigate a vessel on his own account. He is said
 to have been the first Frenchman who embarked in what is
 called the country trade in which he conducted himself
 with so much skill, as to realize in a few years a consider-
 able fortune. The force of his mind procured him an
 ascendancy wherever its influence was exerted a violent
 quarrel was excited between some Arabian and Portuguese
 ships in the harbour of Mocha, and blood was about to be
 shed, when Labourdonnais interposed, and terminated the
 dispute to the satisfaction of the parties. So far did his
 service on this occasion recommend him to the Viceroy of
 Goa, that he invited him into the service of the King of
 Portugal, gave him the command of a King's ship, the
 order of Christ, the rank of Fidalgo, and the title of agent
 of his Portuguese Majesty on the coast of Coromandel. In
 this situation he remained for two years, and perfected his
 knowledge of the traffic and navigation of India; after
 which, in 1733, he returned to France. Apprized of his
 knowledge and capacity the French government turned
 its eyes upon him as a man well qualified to aid in raising
 the colonies in the eastern seas from that state of depres-
 sion in which they remained. In 1734 he was nominated
 Governor General of the isles of France and Bourbon,
 where he arrived in June 1735. So little had been done
 for the improvement of these islands, that the people few
 in number were living nearly in the state of nature. They
 were poor without industry and without the knowledge of
 almost any of the useful arts. They had neither maga-
 zine, nor hospital, neither fortification, nor defensive force
 military or naval. They had no roads; they had no beasts
 of burden, and no vehicles. Everything remained to be
 done by Labourdonnais and he was capable of everything.
 With the hand to execute as well as the head to contrive,
 he could construct a ship from the keel he performed
 the functions of engineer of architect, of agriculturist he
 broke bulls to the yoke constructed vehicles, and made
 roads he apprenticed blacks to the few handicrafts whom

he carried out with him he prevailed upon the inhabitants to cultivate the ground , and introduced the culture of the sugar-cane and indigo he made industry and the useful arts to flourish , contending with the ignorance, the prejudices, and the inveterate habits of idleness, of those with whom he had to deal, and who opposed him at every step To introduce any degree of order and vigilance into the management even of the hospital which he constructed for the sick, it was necessary for him to perform the office of superintendent himself, and for a whole twelvemonth he visited it regularly every morning Justice had been administered by the Councils, to whom that function regularly belonged, in a manner which produced great dissatisfaction During eleven years that Labourdonnais was Governor, there was but one law-suit in the Isle of France, he himself having terminated all differences by arbitration

BOOK IV.
CHAP. I.

1746

The vast improvements which he effected in the islands did not secure him from the disapprobation of his employers The captains of ships, and other visitants of the islands, whom he checked in their unreasonable demands, and from whom he exacted the discharge of their duties, filled the ears of the Company's Directors with complaints , and the Directors, with too little knowledge for accurate judgment, and too little interest for careful inquiry, inferred culpability, because there was accusation He returned to France in 1740, disgusted with his treatment , and fully determined to resign the government but the minister refused his consent It is said that being asked by one of the Directors of the Company, how it was, that he had conducted his own affairs so prosperously, and those of the Company so much the reverse , he replied that he had conducted his own affairs according to his own judgment those of the Company according to that of the Directors¹

Perceiving, by the state of affairs in Europe, that a rupture was approaching between France and the maritime powers, his fertile mind conceived a project for striking a fatal blow at the English trade in the East Imparting the design to some of his friends, he projected that he should be aided with funds sufficient to equip, as ships of

¹ Raynal, liv 4, sect. 20

BOOK IV war six vessels and two frigates with which, being on
CHAR. I. the spot when war should be declared, he could sweep the
 seas of the English commerce, before a fleet could arrive

1745. for its protection. He communicated the scheme to the ministry by whom it was embraced, but moulded into a different form. They proposed to send out a fleet, composed partly of the King's and partly of the Company's ships, with Labourdonnais in the command and though he foresaw opposition from the Company to whom neither he nor the scheme was agreeable, he refused not to lend himself to the ministerial schema. He sailed from L'Orient on the 5th of April, 1741 with five ships of the Company one carrying fifty-six two carrying fifty one, twenty-eight; and one, sixteen guns; having on board about 1000 sailors, and 500 soldiers. Two King's ships had been intended to make part of his squadron; but thov to his great disappointment, received another destination. He also found that, of the ship's crews, three-fourths had never before been at sea and that of either soldiers or sailors hardly one had ever fired a cannon or a musket. His mind was formed to contend with, rather than yield to difficulties and he began immediately to exercise his men with all his industry or rather with as much industry as their love of ease, and the opposition it engendered, rendered practicable. He arrived at the Isle of France on the 14th of August, 1741 where he learned that Pondicherry was menaced by the Mahrattas, and that the islands of France and Bourbon had sent their garrisons to its assistance. After a few necessary operations to put the islands in security he sailed for Pondicherry on the 2d of August, where he arrived on the 30th of September. The danger thero was blown over but the settlement at Mahé had been eight months blockaded by the natives. He repaired to the place of danger chastised the enemy; re-established the factory; and then returned to the islands to wait for the declaration of war between France and England. There he soon received the mortifying orders of the Company to send home all the vessels under his command. Upon this he again requested leave to return, and again the minister refused his consent. His vi us were now confined to his Islands, and he betook himself with his pristine ardour to their improvement. On the 14th of

September, 1744, in the midst of these occupations, the BOOK IV.
intelligence arrived of the declaration of war between CHAP I
France and England, and filled his mind with the mortifying conception of the important things he now might have achieved, but which the mistaken policy or perversity of his employers had prevented

1746

Unable to do what he wished, he still resolved to do what he could. He retained whatever ships had arrived at the islands, namely, one of forty-four guns, one of forty, one of thirty, one of twenty-six, one of eighteen, and another of twenty-six, which was sent to him from Pondicherry with the most pressing solicitations to hasten to its protection. The islands, at which unusual scarcity prevailed, were destitute of almost every requisite equipment of the ships, and their captains, chagrined at the interruption of their voyages, seconded the efforts of the governor with all the ill-will it was safe for them to show. He was obliged to make even a requisition of negroes to man the fleet. In want of hands trained to the different operations of the building and equipping of ships, he employed the various handicrafts whom he was able to muster, and by skilfully assigning to them such parts of the business as were most analogous to the operations of their respective trades, by furnishing them with models which he prepared himself, by giving the most precise directions, and with infinite diligence superintending every operation in person, he overcame in some measure the difficulties with which he was surrounded. In the meantime, intelligence was brought by a frigate, that five of the Company's ships which he was required to protect, and which he was authorized by the King to command, would arrive at the islands in October. They did not arrive till January, 1746. The delay had consumed a great part of the provisions of the former ships those which arrived had remaining for themselves a supply of only four months, they were in bad order and there was no time, nor materials, nor hands to repair them. Only one was armed. It was necessary they should all be armed, and the means for that purpose were totally wanting. The ships' crews, incorporated with the negroes and the handicrafts, Labourdonnais formed into companies, he taught them the manual exercise, and military movements, showed them how to scale a wall, and apply

BOOK IV petards exercised them in firing at a mark and employed
 CHAP L the most dexterous among them in preparing themselves
 1748. to use a machine, which he had invented, for throwing
 with mortars grappling-hooks for boarding to the distance
 of thirty toises.

He forwarded the ships, as fast as they were prepared, to Madagascar where they might add to their stock of provisions, or at any rate save the stock which was already on board; and he followed with the last on the 24th of March. Before sailing from Madagascar a storm arose by which the ships were driven from their anchorage. One was lost; and the rest, greatly damaged, collected themselves in the bay of a desert island on the coast of Madagascar. Here the operations of repairing were to be renewed; and in still more unfavourable circumstances. To get the wood they required, a road was made across a marsh, a league in circumference—the rains were incessant; disease broke out among the people; and many of the officers showed a bad disposition; yet the work was prosecuted with so much efficiency that in forty-eight days the fleet was ready for sea. It now consisted of nine sail, containing 3342 men, among whom were "90 blacks, and from three to four hundred sick."

In passing the island of Ceylon, they received intelligence that the English fleet was at hand. Labourdonnais summoned his captains on board, many of whom had shown themselves ill-disposed in the operation of industry but all of whom manifested an eagerness to fight. As Labourdonnais understood that he was superior to the English in number of men, but greatly inferior in weight of metal, he declared his intention to gain, if possible the wind, and to board. On the 6th of July on the coast of Coromandel, the English fleet appeared to windward, advancing with full sail towards the French.¹

¹ This seems to be the same invention, exactly with that of Captain Hasty for throwing a rope on board, which I mentioned with shipwreck. See Essay on the Preservation of Shipwrecked Persons, by G. W. Montly Esq., in Magazine pour Labourdonnais, 1. 82. The obvious expedient of training the sailors for land operations, is of high importance, and it argues little to the credit of those who have conducted enterprises by which the seafarers might have been, or were to be employed for land operations, that such training has so rarely been resorted to. How much more instructive than that of the "L'gar de la" of war is the consideration of the ingenuity, the industry and the perseverance of such men as Labourdonnais, in the armed conflict, in which he was placed!

² For the above details respecting Labourdonnais, see Magazin, 1. 67-72.

Immediately after the declaration of war between France BOOK IV.
and England, a fleet, consisting of two ships of sixty guns CHAP I.
each, one of fifty, and a frigate of twenty, commanded by
Commodore Barnet, had been despatched to India. It
cruized, at first, in two divisions, one in the Straits of
Sunda, the other in the Straits of Malacca, the places best
fitted for intercepting the French traders, of which it
captured four After rendezvoising at Batavia, the united
fleet appeared on the coast of Coromandel, in the month
of July, 1745 The Governor of Pondicherry, the garrison
of which at that time consisted of only 436 Europeans,
prevailed on the Mogul Governor of the province, to de-
clare Pondicherry under his protection, and to threaten
Madras, if the English fleet should commit hostilities on
any part of his dominions This intimidated the govern-
ment of Madras, and they requested Commodore Barnet
to confine his operations to the sea, who accordingly left
the coast of Coromandel, to avoid the stormy season,
which he passed at Mergui, a port on the opposite coast,
and returned in the beginning of 1746 His fleet was now
reinforced by two fifty gun ships, and a frigate of twenty
guns from England, but one of the sixty gun ships had
become unfit for service, and, together with the twenty
gun frigate, went back to England Commodore Barnet
died at Fort St David in the month of April, and was
succeeded by Mr Peyton, the second in command, who
was cruising in the southward of Fort St David, near
Negapatnam, when he descried the enemy just arriving on
the coast¹

Labourdonnais formed his line, and waited for the Eng-
lish, who kept the advantage of the wind, and frustrated
his design of boarding A distant fight began about four
in the afternoon, and the fleets separated for want of light
about seven Next morning Mr Peyton called a council
of war, and it was resolved, because the sixty gun ship
was leaky, to sail for Trincomalee The enemy lay to the
whole day, expecting that the English, who had the wind,
would return to the engagement The French, however,
were in no condition to pursue, and sailed for Pondicherry,
at which they arrived on the eighth day of the month²

¹ Orme, i pp 60—63

² Orme, i. pp 62, 63 Mémoire, ut supra, pp 83—90 Mr Orme says th

BOOK IV Joseph Francis Dupleix was at that time Governor of
CHAR. I. Pondicherry; having succeeded to the supreme command

 1746. of the French settlements in 1742. To this man are to
 be traced some of the most important of the modern re-
 volutions in India. His father was a farmer-general of
 the revenues, and a Director of the East India Company.
 He had set his heart upon rearing his son to a life of
 commerce and his education, which was liberal, was care-
 fully directed to that end. As the study of mathematics,
 of fortification, and engineering, seemed to engross his
 attention too exclusively his father in 1715 sent him to
 sea and he made several voyages to the Indies and Amer-
 ica. He soon imbibed the taste of his occupation, and,
 desiring to pursue the line of maritime commerce his
 father recommended him to the East India Company and
 had sufficient interest to send him out in 1720 as first
 Member of the Council of Pondicherry. Impatient for
 distinction, the young man devoted himself to the busi-
 ness of his office and became in time minutely acquainted
 with the commerce of the country. He embarked in it,
 on his own account a species of adventure from which
 the poverty of the servants of the French Company had
 in general debarred them. In this station he continued
 for ten years, when his knowledge and talents pointed him
 out as the fittest person to superintend the business of the
 Company at their settlement at Chandernagor in Bengal.
 Though Bengal was the richest part of India, the French

challenge of Labordonsais was only fatal, and that he was to an execution to renew the encirclement. He himself, in the *Mémoire* says that it was
 M. de M., and that *ce fut avec un extrême regret qu'il fut obligé de déposer*
 —M.

This assertion can scarcely be credited, as, although the French armada was
 was more numerous than it English, the former consisted of nine
 the latter of five ships yet of the latter four exceeded in number and weight of
 guns, the largest vessel in Labordonsais fleet. It is very probable there-
 fore, that Orme was right.—W.

The character he manifested at school bears strong resemblance to what is
 reported of V. polem. Bonaparte. La jeunesse avec laquelle il se livra à l'étude
 des mathématiques, le dévouement qu'il表现 pour toutes les connaissances et
 les idées personnelles que fréquentait, le caractère taciturne, étrange, et aussi laid
 qu'il parut lui donner et la reticence à. Il fut également toujours préférant
 aux exercices ordinaires de la société. Mémoire pour l'Assemblée, p. 3. The resem-
 blance in character with those men of another remarkable personage & Freder-
 ick the Great of Prussia, while they are, perhaps, worth the remark: x. His
 sister says, « Il avait de l'espérance, une horreur des malades et de l'artillerie. Il pre-
 sentait long temps, avant que de réapparaître malade, et réapparut le lendemain
 d'entrees de l'artillerie depuis la bataille de France. Margravine de Brandeburgh,
 L. 6-32.

factory in that province had, from want of funds and from bad management, remained in a low condition. The colony was still to be formed, and the activity and resources of the new manager soon produced the most favourable changes. The colonists multiplied, enterprise succeeded to languor, Dupleix on his own account entered with ardour into the country trade, in which he employed the inheritance he derived from his father, and had frequently not less than twelve vessels, belonging to himself and his partners, navigating to Surat, Mocha, Jeddah, the Manillas, the Maldives, Goa, Bussora, and the coast of Malabar. He realized a great fortune during his administration more than 2000 brick houses were built at Chandernagor. He formed a new establishment for the French Company at Patna, and rendered the French commerce in Bengal an object of envy to the most commercial of the European colonies.

CHAP. I.

1746

The reputation which he acquired in this situation pointed him out as the fittest person to occupy the station of Governor at Pondicherry. Upon his appointment to this chief command, he found the Company in debt, and he was pressed by instructions from home, to effect immediately a great reduction of expense.

The reduction of expense, in India, raising up a host of enemies, is an arduous and a dangerous task to a European governor. Dupleix was informed that war was impending between France and the maritime powers. Pondicherry was entirely open to the sea, and very imperfectly fortified even towards the land. He proceeded, with his usual industry, to inquire, to plan, and to execute. Though expressly forbidden, under the present circumstances of the Company, to incur any expense for fortifications, he, on the prospect of a war with the maritime powers, made the works at Pondicherry a primary object. He had been struggling with the difficulties of narrow resources, and the strong temptation of extended views, about four years, when Labourdonnais arrived in the roads.¹

The mind of Dupleix, though ambitious, active, and ingenious, seems to have possessed but little elevation. His vanity was excessive, and even effeminate, and he was not exempt from the infirmities of jealousy and re-

¹ Mémoire pour Dupleix, pp. 9—26

BOOK IV venga. In the enterprise in which the fleet was destined
CHAP. I. to be employed, Labourdonnais was to reap the glory

 146. and from the very first he had reason to complain of the air
 of haughtiness and reserve which his rival assumed. As
 the English were warned out of the seas, and nothing was
 to be gained by cruising, Labourdonnais directed his
 thoughts to Madras. The danger however was great, so
 long as his ships were liable to be attacked, with the
 greater part of their crews on shore. He, therefore, de-
 manded sixty pieces of cannon from Dupleix, to place him
 on a level in point of metal, with the English fleet, and
 resolved to proceed in quest of it. Dupleix alleged the
 danger of leaving Pondicherry deprived of its guns, and
 refused. With a very inferior reinforcement of guns, with
 a very inadequate supply of ammunition, and with water
 given him at Pondicherry so bad, as to produce the dysen-
 tery in his fleet, Labourdonnais put to sea on the 4th of Au-
 gust. On the 17th, he descried the English fleet off No-
 gapatnam, and hoisted Dutch colours as a decoy. The
 English understood the stratagem, changed their course
 and fled. Labourdonnais says he pursued them all that
 day and the next; when, having the wind, they escaped.
 He returned to Pondicherry on the 23rd, much enfeebled
 by disease, and found all hearty co-operation on the part
 of the governor and council still more hopeless than
 before. After a series of unfriendly proceedings, under
 which he had behaved with a manly temperance after
 Dupleix had even commanded him to re-land the Pon-
 dicherry troops, he resolved to send the fleet, which he
 was still too much indisposed to command, towards Ma-
 dras, for the double purpose, of seizing the vessels by
 which the people of Madras were preparing to send away
 the most valuable of their effects, and of ascertaining
 whether his motions were watched by the English fleet.
 The cruise was unskillfully conducted, and yielded little in
 the way of prize. It afforded presumption, however that
 the English fleet had abandoned the coast. Labourdon-

Labourdonnais (Mémoire, l. 179.) does not state the number of the guns
 from Pondicherry with which he was obliged to content himself. Orme l. 4,
 says, he obtained thirty or forty pieces; but it is generally admitted by Mr Orme
 history that he never gives his authorities.

Mémoires pour Labourdonnais, ut supra, p. 110, and Orme p. 61, who here
 adopts the account of Labourdonnais.

nais saw, therefore, a chance of executing his plan upon Madras He left Pondicherry on the 12th of September, and on the 14th commenced the operations, which ended, as we have seen, in the surrender of the place

BOOK IV
CHAP I.
1746.

It was in consequence of an express article in his orders from home, that Labourdonnais agreed to the restoration of Madras¹ But nothing could be more adverse to the views of Dupleix He advised, he entreated, he menaced, he protested, Labourdonnais, however, proceeded with firmness to fulfil the conditions into which he had entered Dupleix not only refused all assistance to expedite the removal of goods, and enable the ships to leave Madras before the storms which accompany the change of monsoon , he raised up every obstruction in his power, and even endeavoured to excite sedition among Labourdonnais' own people, that they might seize and send him to Pondicherry On the night of the 13th of October, a storm arose, which forced the ships out to sea Two were lost, and only fourteen of the crew of one of them were saved. Another was carried so far to the southward, that she was unable to regain the coast , all lost their masts, and sustained great and formidable injury Disregarding the most urgent entreaties for assistance, Dupleix maintained his opposition At last, a suggestion was made, that the articles of the treaty of ransom should be so far altered, as to afford time to the French, for removal of the goods , and Labourdonnais and the English, though with some reluctance, agreed, that the period of evacuation should be changed from the 15th of October to the 15th of January This was all that Dupleix desired. Upon the departure of Labourdonnais, which the state of the season rendered indispensable, the place would be delivered into the hands of Dupleix, and he was not to be embarrassed with the fetters of a treaty²

¹ Il est expressément défendu au sieur de la Bourdonnais de s'emparer d'aucun établissement ou comptoir des ennemis pour le conserver Mém. p 105 This was signed by M Orry, Contrôleur Général It appears, by the orders both to Labourdonnais and Dupleix, that the French government and East India Company shrank from all idea of conquest in India —M.

The letter to the proprietors explains the purport of M Labourdonnais' instructions more correctly He was not to form any new settlement, and the only alternatives in his power with regard to Madras, were to restore or destroy it The object of the French East India Company was to improve their existing settlements, at least before new ones were established —W

² Mémoire, ut supra, pp 142—220 Orme, i 69—72 Dupleix, in his ap-

BOOK IV

CHAPTER I.

1748.

The remaining history of Labourdonnais may be shortly adduced. Upon his return to Pondicherry the opposition, which he had formerly experienced, was changed to open hostility. All his proposals for a union of councils and of resources were rejected with scorn. Three fresh ships had arrived from the islands; and, notwithstanding the loss occasioned by the storm, the force of the French was still sufficient to endanger if not to destroy the whole of the English settlements in India. Convinced, by the counteraction which he experienced, that he possessed not the means of carrying his designs into execution, Labourdonnais acceded to the proposition of Dupleix that he should proceed to Acheen with such of the ships as were able to keep the sea, and return to Pondicherry after they were repaired reserving five of them to Dupleix to carry out next year's investment to Europe. At its departure, the squadron consisted of seven ships, of which four were in tolerable repair; the rest were in such a condition that it was doubted whether they could reach Achean; if this was impracticable, they were to sail for the islands. In conformity with this plan, Labourdonnais divided them into two parts. The first, consisting of the sound vessels, was directed to make its way to Achean, without waiting for the rest: he himself remained with the second, with intention to follow if that were in his power. The first division outsailed, and soon lost sight

logy involves the cause of his opposition to Labourdonnais in mystery. It was secret, forsooth! And secret, too, of the ministry and the company! The disgrace, then, was triplets! Great consolation to Labourdonnais! And great satisfaction to the nation! Le Sieur Dupleix, says the M^{me}caire, respecte trop les ordres du ministre et ceux de la Compagnie pour oser publier tel ce qu'il lui a été enjoint d'entretenir dans le plus profond secret, p. 27. I. the usual style of subterfuge and mystery this is omniscient and cynical. The word *ordres* may signify orders given to him to behave as he did to Labourdonnais; and this is the sense in which it is understood by Vauclerc, who says, Le gouverneur Dupleix 'exécute dans ses Mémoires ces deux ordres secrets à plusieurs Miles il n'avait pas reçu de faire à six milles lieues des ordres concernant une expédition qu'en venait de l'Afrique et que le ministre de l'Amour n'avait jamais pu prévoir. Ses autres franchises valent des dommages par prévoyance. Il échoua formellement contradictoires avec ceux que le Bourbormais avait promis. Le ministre s'arrête en à se reprocher la perte de cent millions dans le pays de la France en violation à capitalisation, mais surtout le cruel traitement dont il paya le général, le vainqueur et la magnanime de la Bourbormais. — Ensuite Hister sur l'Isle, Art. 2. But the word *ordres* may also signify orders merely not to disclose the pretended secret. This is a species of detective, which ought ever to be suspected; for it may be as easily applied to the greatest villainy as to the greatest worth, and is far more likely to be so.

* Orme L. 67 72.

of the other, with which Labourdonnais, finding it in BOOK IV. vain to strive for Acheen, at last directed his course to CHAP I. the islands Hastening to Europe, to make his defence, or answer the accusations of his enemies, he took his passage in a ship belonging to Holland. In consequence of the declaration of war she was forced into an English harbour Labourdonnais was recognized, and made a prisoner, but the conduct which he had displayed at Madras was known and remembered All ranks received him with favour and distinction That he might not be detained, a Director of the East India Company offered to become security for him with his person and property With a corresponding liberality, the government declined the offer, desiring no security but the word of Labourdonnais. His treatment in France was different The representations of Dupleix had arrived A brother of Dupleix was a Director of the East India Company , Dupleix had only violated a solemn treaty , Labourdonnais had only faithfully and gloriously served his country , and he was thrown into the Bastile He remained in that prison three years , while the vindication which he published, and the authentic documents by which he supported it, fully established his innocence, and the ardour and ability of his services He survived his liberation a short time, a memorable example of the manner in which a blind government encourages desert¹

He had not taken his departure from Madras, when the troops of the Nabob appeared. Dupleix had been able to dissuade that native ruler from yielding his protection to Madras, a service which the English, who had prevailed on Commodore Barnet to abstain from molesting Pondicherry, claimed as their due Dupleix had gained him by the promise of Madras The Moor (so at that time the Moslems in India were generally called) quickly however perceived, that the promise was a delusion , and he now proposed to take vengeance by driving the French from the place As soon as Labourdonnais and his fleet disappeared, a numerous army of the Nabob, led by his son, invested Madras From the disaster, however, which had

¹ Mémoire, ut supra, pp 221—280 Orme, i 72, Raynal, liv iv sect 20 Voltaire, amid other praises, says of him, " Il fit plus , il dispersa une escadre Angloise dans la mer de l'Inde, ce qui n'étoit jamais arrivé qu'à lui, et ce qu'on n'a pas revu depuis " Fragm Histor sur l'Inde, Art 3.

BOOK IV befallen the fleet, Labourdonnais had been under the necessity of leaving behind him about 1200 Europeans, disciplined by himself the French, therefore, encountered the Indians astonished them beyond measure by the rapidity of their artillery with a numerical force which bore no proportion to the enemy gained over them a decisive victory and first broke the spell which held the Europeans in subjection to the native powers.¹

1746.

The masters of mankind, how little soever disposed to share better things with the people, are abundantly willing to give them a share of their disgrace. Though, on other occasions, they may affect a merit in despising the public will, they diligently put on the appearance of being constrained by it in any dishonourable action which they have a mind to perform. In violating the treaty with the English, Dupleix recognised his own baseness; means were therefore used to make the French inhabitants of Pondicherry assemble and draw up a remonstrance against it, and a prayer that it might be annulled. Moved by respect for the general voice of his countrymen, Dupleix sent his orders to declare the treaty of ransom annulled to take the keys of all magazines; and to seize every article of property except the clothes of the wearers, the moveables of the houses, and the jewels of the women; orders which were executed with avaricious exactness. The governor and principal inhabitants were carried prisoners to Pondicherry and exhibited, by Dupleix, in a species of triumph.

The English still possessed the settlement of Fort St.

Mémoire pour Dupleix, p. 23; Mémoire pour Labourdonnais, L 152. It was now more than "century" says M. Orme (p. 76), since any European nation had gained decisive advantage in war acquired the empire of the Great Mogul. The experience of former successful wars, and the want of military abilities which prevailed in all the colonies, from a long series of arms, had persuaded them that the Moors were brave and formidable enemies; when the French at once broke through the charms of this timorous opinion, by defeating whole army with single battalion.

Mémoire pour Labourdonnais, L 152. Orme, L 77. Dupleix, in his apology (Mémo. p. 27), declines defending this breach of faith repeating the former pretence of secrecy to which, he says, the Ministry and the Company enjoined him. Experience justifies three inferences: 1. That the disgrace as such as exhalation would enhance; 2. That the Ministry and the Company were shamed to it; 3. That having such partners, his safety did not depend upon his justification. He adds, that it is certain he was innocent, because the Ministry and the Company continued to employ him. It was certain, either that he was innocent, or that the Ministry and the Company were shamed in his part. And it was *maxima* at that time to know that Ministry never can have great; if so, the inference was logical.

BOOK IV
 David, on the coast of Coromandel. It was situated twelve miles south from Pondicherry, with a territory still larger than that of Madras. Besides Fort St David, at which were placed the houses of the Company, and other Europeans, it contained the town of Cuddalore, inhabited by the Indian merchants, and other natives, and two or three populous villages. The fort was small, but stronger than any of its size in India. Cuddalore was surrounded, on the three sides towards the land, by walls flanked with bastions. On the side towards the sea, it was open, but skirted by a river, which was separated from the sea by a mound of sand. A part of the inhabitants of Madras had, after a violation of the treaty of ransom, made their way to Fort St David, and the agents of the Company at that place now took upon themselves the functions of the Presidency of Madras, and the general administration of the English affairs on the Coromandel coast.¹

1746.

Dupleix lost no time in following up the retention of Madras with an enterprise against Fort St David, the reduction of which would have left him without a European rival. In the night of the 19th of December, a force consisting of 1700 men, mostly Europeans, of which fifty were cavalry, with two companies of the Kaffie slaves trained by Labourdonnais, set out from Pondicherry, and arrived next morning in the vicinity of the English fort. The garrison, including the men who had escaped from Madras, amounted to no more than about 200 Europeans, and 100 Topasses. At this time the English had not yet learned to train Sepoys in the European discipline, though the French had already set the example, and had four or five disciplined companies at Pondicherry.² They had hired, however, 2000 of the undisciplined soldiers of the country, who are armed promiscuously with swords and targets, bows and arrows, pikes, lances, matchlocks or muskets, and known among the Europeans by the name of Peons, among these men they had distributed eight or nine hundred muskets, and destined them for the defence of Cuddalore. They had also applied for assistance to the

¹ Orme, i. 78

² The two important discoveries for conquering India were 1st, The weakness of the native armies against European discipline 2dly, The facility of imparting that discipline to natives in the European service Both discoveries were made by the French

BOOK IV Nabob and he, exasperated against the French, by his
CHAP L defeat at Madras, engaged, upon the promise of the English

¹⁴⁷ to defray part of the expense, to send his army to assist
 Fort St. David. The French, having gained an advanta-
 geous post, and laid down their arms for a little rest, were
 exulting in the prospect of an easy prey when an army of
 nearly 10,000 men advanced in sight. Not attempting re-
 sistance, the French made good their retreat, with twelve
 Europeans killed, and 120 wounded. Dupleix immediately
 entered into a correspondence with the Moors, to detach
 them from the English and, at the same time, meditated
 the capture of Cuddalore by surprise. On the night of the
 10th of January 500 men were embarked in boats, with
 orders to enter the river and attack the open quarter of
 the town at daybreak. But, as the wind rose, and the surf
 was high, they were compelled to return.¹

Dupleix was fertile in expedients, and indefatigable in their application. He sent a detachment from Madras into the Nabob's territory in hopes to withdraw him to its defence. The French troops disgraced themselves by the barbarity of their ravages; but the Indian army remained at Fort St. David, and the resentment of the Nabob was increased. On the 20th of January the four ships of La bordonnais' squadron, which had sailed to Acheen to refit, arrived in the road of Pondicherry. Dupleix conveyed to the Nabob an exaggerated account of the vast accession of force which he had received, describing the English as a contemptible handful of men, devoted to destruction. "The governments of Indostan," says Mr Orme on this occasion, have no idea of national honour in the conduct of their politics and as soon as they think the party with whom they are engaged is reduced to great distress, they shift, without hesitation, their alliance to the opposite side, making immediate advantage the only rule of their action." A peace was accordingly concluded; the Nabob's troops abandoned the English; his son, who commanded the army paid a visit to Pondicherry; was received, by Dupleix, with that display in which he delighted; and was gratified by a considerable present.²

¹ Orme, I. 72-83.

² Mémorie pour Leboutronais, I. 237. Mémoire pour Dupleix, p. 22. Orme, I. 84, 85.

Blocked up, as it would have been, from receiving supplies, by the British ships at sea, and by the Nabob's army on land, Pondicherry, but for this treaty, would soon have been reduced to extremity¹. And now the favourable opportunity for accomplishing the destruction of Fort St David was eagerly seized. On the morning of the 13th of March, a French army was seen approaching the town. After some resistance, it had crossed the river, which flows a little way north from the fort, and had taken possession of its former advantageous position, when an English fleet was seen approaching the road. The French crossed the river with precipitation, and returned to Pondicherry².

1747.

The fleet under Captain Peyton, after it was lost sight of by Labourdonnais, on the 18th of August, off Negapatnam, had tantalized the inhabitants of Madras, who looked to it with eagerness for protection, by appearing off Pullicat, about thirty miles to the northward, on the 3rd of September, and again sailing away. Peyton proceeded to Bengal, because the sixty-gun ship was in such a condition as to be supposed incapable of bearing the shock of her own guns. The fleet was there reinforced by two ships, one of sixty and one of forty guns, sent from England with Admiral Griffin, who assumed the command, and proceeded with expedition to save Fort St David, and menace Pondicherry. The garrison was reinforced by the arrival of 100 Europeans, 200 Topasses, and 100 Sepoys, from Bombay, besides 400 Sepoys from Tellicherry, in the course of the year 1748, Major Lawrence arrived, with a commission to command the whole of the Company's forces in India.³

The four ships which had arrived at Pondicherry from Acheen, and which Dupleix foresaw would be in imminent danger, when the English fleet should return to the coast, he had, as soon as he felt assured of concluding peace with the Nabob, ordered from Pondicherry to Goa. From Goa they proceeded to Mauritius, where they were joined by three other ships from France. About the middle of June,

¹ So says Dupleix himself, *Mém* p 29² Orme, i. 87 *Mém pour Dupleix*, p 29³ Orme, i. 66, 87, 88

BOOK IV this fleet was despatched off Fort St. David, making sail, as if

CHAP. I. it intended to bear down upon the English. Admiral

1747 Griffin waited for the land wind, and put to sea at night, expecting to find the enemy in the morning. But the French Admiral, as soon as it was dark, crowded sail, and proceeded directly to Madras, where he landed 300 soldiers, and £200,000 in silver the object of his voyage, and then returned to Mauritius. Admiral Griffin sought for him in vain.¹ But Dupleix, knowing that several days would be necessary to bring the English ships back to Fort St. David, against the monsoon, contrived another attack upon Cuddalore. Major Lawrence, by a well-executed feint, allowed the enemy at midnight to approach the very walls, and even to apply the scaling ladders, under an idea that the garrison was withdrawn, when a sudden discharge of artillery and musketry struck them with dismay and threw them into precipitate retreat.

The Government of England moved by the disasters of the nation in India, and jealousies of the ascendancy assumed by the French, had now prepared a formidable armament for the East. Nine ships of the public navy one of seventy four one of sixty-four two of sixty two of fifty one of twenty guns, a sloop of fourteen, a bomb-ketch with her tender and an hospital-ship, commanded by Admiral Boscawen and eleven ships of the Company carrying stores and troops to the amount of 1400 men, set sail from England toward the end of the year 1744. They had instructions to capture the island of Mauritius in their way; as a place of great importance to the enterprises of the French in India. But the leaders of the expedition, after examining the coast, and observing the means of defence, were deterred, by the loss of time which the enterprise would occasion. On the 9th of August they arrived at

¹ Admiral Griffin, on his return to England, was brought to a court martial and suspended the service for negligence in not bearing sail out to sea, first receiving information of the enemy's approach by doing this it is argued, he might have frustrated the object of the French invasion, if not have brought them to action. It published an appeal against the sentence grounding his defence, for his having missed the land wind on the day before the invasion was to sight, in necessary preparations to strengthen his own ships for encounter with what he informedly represented as a superior Fleet by 1400 he expected to be attacked.—W.

² Orme, I. 22-31. Orme says that 300 soldiers only were landed by the French at Madras. Dupleix himself says, Three and thousand, had never yet made up. Merv. p. 22.

Fort St David, when the squadron, joined to that under BOOK IV.
Griffin, formed the largest European force that any one CHAP I
power had yet possessed in India¹

1718

Dupleix, who had received early intelligence from Franco
of the preparations for this armament, had been the more
eager to obtain an interval of friendship with the Nabob,
and to improve it to the utmost for laying in provisions
and stores at Pondicherry and Madras, knowing well, as
soon as the superior force of the English should appear,
that the Nabob would change sides, and the French settle-
ments, both by sea and land, would again be cut off from
supplies²

Preparations at Fort St David had been made, to ex-
pedite the operations of Boscawen, and he was in a very
short time ready for action, when all Englishmen exulted
in the hope of seeing the loss of Madras revenged by the
destruction of Pondicherry. Amid other points of prepara-
tion for attaining this desirable object, there was one, to
wit, knowledge, which they had, unfortunately, overlooked.
At a place called Ariancopang, about two miles to the
south-west of Pondicherry, the French had built a small
fort. When the English arrived at this place, not a man
was found who could give a description of it. They re-
solved, however, to take it by assault, but were repulsed,
and the repulse dejected the men. Time was precious;
for the season of the rains, and the change of monsoon,
were at hand. A small detachment, too, left at the fort,
might have held the feeble garrison in check but it was
resolved to take Ariancopang at any expense. Batteries
were opened, but the enemy defended themselves with
spirit. Major Lawrence was taken prisoner in the trenches.
Several days were consumed, and more would have been
added to them, had not a part of the enemy's magazine of
powder taken fire, which so terrified the garrison, that they
blew up the walls and retreated to Pondicherry. As if suf-
ficient time had not been lost, the English remained five
days longer to repair the fort, in which they resolved to
leave a garrison, lest the enemy should resume possession
during the siege.

They advanced to Pondicherry, and opened the trenches

¹ Orme, i 91—93

² Mémoire pour Dupleix, p 31, 32

BOOK IV on the north west side of the town, at the distance of
 CHAP. I 1,500 yards from the wall, though it was even then cus-
 tomary to open them within 800 yards of the covered way
 1748. The cannon and mortars in the ships were found capable
 of little execution ; and, from want of experience, the ap-
 proaches, with much labour went slowly on. At last they
 were carried within 800 yards of the wall when it was
 found impossible to extend them any further on account
 of a large morass ; while, on the northern side of the town,
 they might have been carried to the foot of the glacia.
 Batteries, at the distance of 800 yards, were constructed on
 the edge of the morass but the enemy's fire proved
 double that of the besiegers ; the rains came on ; sickness
 prevailed in the camp ; very little impression had been
 made on the defences of the town ; a short time would
 make the roads impracticable ; and hurricanes were appre-
 hended, which would drive the ships from the coast. It
 was therefore determined, by a council of war thirty-one
 days after the opening of the trenches, that the siego
 should be raised. Dupleix, as corresponded with the char-
 acter of the man, made a great ostentation and parade on
 this unexpected event. He represented himself as having
 gained one of the most brilliant victories on record ; he
 wrote letters in this strain, not only to France, but to the
 Indian princes, and even to the Great Mogul himself ; he
 received in return the highest compliments on his own
 conduct and bravery as well as on the prowess of his
 nation ; and the English were regarded in India as only a
 secondary and inferior people.¹

In November news arrived that a suspension of arms
 had taken place between England and France and this
 was shortly after followed by intelligence of the treaty of
 Aix-la-Chapelle, in which the French Government had
 agreed to restore Madras. It was delivered up in August,
 with its fortifications much improved. At the distance of
 four miles south from Madras, was the town of San Tome
 or St. Thomas, built by the Portuguese, and, in the time of

¹ CHAP. I AD. 94—104. Dupleix (*Mém.* p. 22) says that the trenches were
 open forty-two days, and that the siege altogether lasted fifty-eight. The presents
 drawn up by the French East India Company in answer to Dupleix alleges
 more than once that Dupleix was defective in personal courage ; and says he
 apologized for the care with which he kept at distance from the, by acknowledging
 you to have done what you intended me to do, or for the calm and considerate
 way I see you, p. 18.

their prosperity, a place of note It had long, however, been reduced to obscurity, and though inhabited mostly by Christians, had hardly been regarded as a possession by any of the European powers It had been found that the Roman Catholic priests, from the sympathy of religion, had conveyed useful information to the French in their designs upon Madras To prevent the like inconvenience in future, it was now taken possession of by the English, and the obnoxious part of the inhabitants ordered to withdraw¹

No events of any importance had occurred at the other presidencies, during these years of war The Viceroy of Bengal had prohibited the French and English from prosecuting their hostilities in his dominions This governor exacted contributions from the European colonies, for the protection which he bestowed , that, however, which he imposed upon the English did not exceed £100,000 A quantity of raw silk, amounting to 300 bales, belonging to the Company, was plundered by the Mahrattas , and the distress which the incursions of that people produced in the province, increased the difficulties of traffic²

The trade of the Company exhibited the following results —

	Gold and Stores exported	Bullion do	Total
1744	£231,318	£458,544	£689,862
1745	91,364	476,853	568,217
1746	265,818	.. 560,020	825,838
1747	107,979	779,256	887,235
1748	127,224	706,890	834,114

The Bills of Exchange for which the Company paid during those years were —

1744	£103,349	1747	.. . £441,651
1745	98,213	1748	. 178,419
1746	417,647		

The amount of sales for the same years (including thirty per cent of duties, which remained to be deducted) was

1744	.. £1,997,506	1747	. £1,739,159
1745	2,480,966	1748	1,768,041 ³
1746	.. 1,602,388		

¹ Orme, i 107, 75, 131

² Orme, ii 55

³ Third Report from the Committee of Secrecy, 1773, p 75

BOOK IV The official value at the Custom house of the imports
CHAR II and exports of the Company during that period, was as follows

1748.

		Imports.		Exports.
1744	..	£743,508	....	£4,074
1745	.....	973,05	....	203,113
1746	....	646,607	....	803,540
1747	... ..	128,733	....	345,528
1748	.. ..	1,008,719	...	306,371

The dividend was eight per cent. per annum, during the whole of the time.

During the same period, the trade of the nation, notwithstanding the war had considerably increased. The imports had risen from £6,362,071 official value to £8,136,408; and the exports from £11,420,628 to £12,351,433 and, in the two following years, to £14,000,300 and £15,132,004.¹

CHAPTER II.

Origin, Progress, and Suspension, of the Contest for establishing Mohammed Ali, Nabob of the Carnatic

A NEW scene is now to open in the history of the East India Company. Before this period they had maintained the character of mere traders, and, by humility and submission, endeavoured to preserve a footing in that distant country under the protection or oppression of the native powers. We shall now behold them entering the lists of war; and mixing with eagerness in the contests of the princes. Dupleix, whose views were larger than, at that time, those of any of the servants of the Company had already planned, in his imagination, an empire for the French, and had entered pretty deeply into the intrigues of the country powers. The English were the first to draw the sword; and from no higher inducement than the promise of a trifling settlement on the Coromandel coast.

A prince who, amid the revolutions of that country had, some years before possessed and lost the throne of Tanjore repaired to Fort St David, and entreated the as-

¹ Sir C. Whitworth's Tables, part II. p. 9.
 Report, *supra*, p. 74. ² Whitworth's Tables, p. I. part II.

sistance of the English. He represented his countrymen BOOK IV. as ready to co-operate for his restoration , and promised CHAR II
the fort and country of Devi-Cotah, with the payment of all expenses, if, with their assistance, he should recover his rights The war between the French and English had brought to the settlements of both nations in that quarter of India, a greater quantity of troops than was necessary for their defence , and with the masters of troops it seems to be a law of nature, whenever they possess them in greater abundance than is necessary for defence, to employ them for the disturbance of others The French and English rulers in India showed themselves extremely obedient to that law The interests of the Tanjore fugitive were embraced at Fort St David , and, in the beginning of April, 1749, 430 Europeans and 1000 Sepoys, with four field-pieces and four small mortars, marched with him for Tanjore

1749

Tanjore was one of those rajaships, or small kingdoms, into which the Mohammedans, at their first invasion of India, found the country in general divided. It occupied little more than the space enclosed and intersected by the numerous mouths of the river Cavery The Coleroon, or most northern branch of that river, bounded it on the north, and it extended about seventy miles along the coast, and nearly as much inland from the sea. Like the rest of the neighbouring country, it appears to have become dependent upon the more powerful rajaship of Beejanuggur, before the establishment of the Mohammedan kingdoms in the Deccan , and afterwards upon the kingdom of Beejapore, but subject still to its own laws and its own sovereign or raja, who held it in the character of a Zemundar In the time of Aurungzeb, it has been already seen, that a very remarkable personage, the father of Sivajee, who had obtained a footing in the Carnatic, had entered into a confederacy with the Raja or Polygar of Mudkul or Madura, against the Raja or Zemindar or Naig (for we find all these titles applied to him) of Tanjore, whom they defeated and slew , that afterwards quarrelling with the Raja of Mudkul, about the division of the conquered territory, the Mahratta stripped him of his dominions, took possession both of Mudkul and Tanjore, and transmitted them to his pos-

BOOK IV terity! His grandson Shaojee was attacked and taken
 CHAP II. prisoner by Zulfikar Khan, who, to strengthen his party
 148. restored him to his government or reminary upon the
 death of Aurungzeb. Shaojee had two brothers, Shurfajee and Tukojee. They succeeded one another in the govern-
 ment, and all died without issue, excepting the last. Tukojee had three sons, Baba Saib, Nana, and Sahujee. Baba Saib succeeded his father and died without issue. Nana died before him, but left an infant son, and his widow was raised to the government, by the influence of Said, the commander of the fort. This powerful servant soon de-
 prived the Queen of all authority throw her into prison, and set up as raja a pretended son of Shurfajee. It suited the views of Said to allow a very short existence to this prince and his power. He next placed Sahujee the youngest of the sons of Tukojee, in the seat of govern-
 ment. Sahujee also was soon driven from the throne. Said now vested with the name of sovereign, Prataup Sing, a son by one of the inferior wives of Tukojee. This was in 1741. The first act of Prataup Sing's government was to assassinate Said. It was Sahujee who now craved the assistance of the English.¹ And it was after having corresponded for years with Prataup Sing, as King of Tan-
 jore after having offered to him the friendship of the English nation; and after having courted his assistance against the French that the English rulers now without so much as a pretence of any provocation, and without the allegation of any other motive than the advantage of possessing Devi-Cotah, despatched an army to dethrone him.

¹ Vide supra. Also Aeroponck's Operations in the Deccan, by Scott, p. 6—II. Also Duff's History of the Malabar, i. 159—W.

History and Management of the East India Company from an accurate MS. account of Tanjore. See also Orissa, i. 198 who in some particulars, was misinformed.—W. Duff calls him Syree and adds he was a legitimate son. Prataup Sing was the son of exorcise.—W.

The meaning of this letter is to let your Majesty know I shall esteem it a great honour to be upon such terms with your Majesty as may be convenient to both; for which reason, I hope this will meet with gracious acceptance as likewise the few things I send with it. Letter from Governor Player to Prataup Sing, King of Tanjore, dated 20th November 1746.—"I received your letter and am glad to hear of the King of Tanjore's regard and civility toward the English. You may be assured, that after the arrival of our ships, which will be very soon, I will serve the King and all the people that will be at war against the French, who are enemies to all the world. Letter from Governor Player to Macaulayatha, adviser of the King of Tanjore dated 21st Jan 1747 —

This is to acquaint your Majesty of the good news we have received from Europe two days past. The French makes (various) bets to your Majesty and

The troops proceeded by land; while the battering-BOOK IV.
cannon and provisions were conveyed by sea They had CHAP II
begun to proceed when the monsoon changed, with a vio-
lent hurricane The army, having crossed the river Cole-
roon, without opposition, were on the point of turning
into a road among the woods, which they would have found
inextricable. Some of the soldiers, however, discovered a
passage along the river, into which they turned by blind
but lucky chance , and this led them, after a march of
about ten miles, to the neighbourhood of Devi-Cotah
They had been annoyed by the Tanjorines , no partisans
appeared for Sahujee , it indeed appears not that so much
as a notice had been conveyed to them of what was de-
signed , and no intelligence could be procured of the ships,
though they were at anchor only four miles off at the
mouth of the river The army threw at the fort what
shells they had, and then retreated without delay

1749

The shame of a defeat was difficult to bear, and the
rulers of Madras resolved upon a second attempt They
exaggerated the value of Devi-Cotah , situated in the most
fertile spot on the coast of Coromandel , and standing on
the river Coleroon, the channel of which, within the bar,
was capable of receiving ships of the largest burden, while
there was not a port from Masulipatam to Cape Comorin,
which could receive one of 300 tons it was true the
mouth of the river was obstructed by sand , but if that
could be removed, the possession would be invaluable
This time, the expedition, again commanded by Major
Lawrence,¹ proceeded wholly by sea , and from the mouth
of the river the troops and stores were convoyed up to

the English) had fitted out a force with design to drive the English out of
India and had they been successful, they would never have stopped there ,
but would have made settlements in whatever parts of your country they liked
best, as they have already done at Carical But it pleased God that their vile
designs have been prevented , for our ships met them at sea, and took and
destroyed the whole of them

I do not at all doubt, but that in a
short time we shall be able to put you in possession of Carical, which I hear
you so much wish for " Letter from Governor Floyer to the King of Tanjore,
dated 19th Jan 1743 See i 25, 26, of a Collection of Papers, entitled Tanjore
Papers published by the East India Company in three 4to volumes, in 1777,
as an Appendix to a Vindication of the Company, drawn up by their counsel,
Mr Rous, in answer to two pamphlets, one entitled, " State of Facts rela-
tive to Tanjore " the other, " Original Papers relative to Tanjore " This
Collection of Papers I shall commonly quote, under the short title of Rous's
Appendix

¹ Major Lawrence did not command on the first Invasion of Tanjore, the force
was led by Captain Cope Rous's Appendix, 30 —W

BOOK IV Devi-Cotah in boats. The army was landed on the side
 CHAR II. of the river opposite to the fort, where it was proposed
 1749. to erect the batteries, because the ground on the same
 side of the river with the fort, was marshy covered with
 wood, and surrounded by the Tanjore army. After three
 days' firing a breach was made but no advantage could
 be taken of it till the river was crossed. This was dan-
 gerous, as well from the breadth and rapidity of the
 stream, as from the number of soldiers in the thickets
 which covered the opposite shore. To the ingenuity of a
 common ship's carpenter the army was indebted for the
 invention by which the danger was overcome. A raft was
 constructed sufficient to contain 400 men; but the diffi-
 culty was to move it across. John Moore the man who
 suggested and constructed the raft, was again ready with
 his skil. He swam the river in the night; fastened to a
 tree on the opposite side a rope which he carefully con-
 cealed in the bushes and water and returned without
 being perceived. Before the raft began to move, some
 pieces of artillery were made to fire briskly upon the spot
 where the rope was attached and moved the Tanjorees
 to a distance too great to perceive it. The raft was moved
 across; it returned, and recrossed several times, till the
 whole of the troops were landed on the opposite bank.
 Major Lawrence resolved to storm the breach without
 delay. Lieutenant Clive, who had given proofs of his
 ardent courage at the siege of Pondicherry offered to lead
 the attack. He proceeded with a platoon of Europeans
 and 100 Sepoys; but rashly allowing himself, at the head
 of the platoon, to be separated from the Sepoys, he nar-
 rowly escaped with his life; and the platoon was almost
 wholly destroyed. Major Lawrence advanced with the
 whole of his force, when the soldiers mounted the breach,
 and after a feeble resistance took possession of the place.
 An accommodation between the contending parties was
 effected soon after. The reigning king agreed to concede
 to the English the fort for which they contended, with a
 territory of the annual value of 9000 pagodas; and they
 on their part, not only renounced the support of him for
 whom they had pretended to fight as the true and lawful
 king but agreed to secure his person, in order that he
 might give no further molestation to Pratap Sing and

demanded only 4000 rupees, about £400, for his annual BOOK IV expenses¹. It may well be supposed, that to conquer TANJORE for him would have been a frantic attempt. But no such reflection was made when a zeal for the justice of his cause was held up as the impelling motive of the war, nor can it be denied that his interests were very coolly resigned. It is even asserted that, but for the humanity of Boscowen, he would have been delivered into the hands of Prataup Sing². He found means to make his escape from the English, who imprisoned his uncle and kept him in confinement for nine years, till he was released by the French, when they took Fort St. David in 1758³.

1749
CHAR II.

While the English were occupied with the unimportant conquest of Devi-Cotah, the French had engaged in transactions of the highest moment, and a great revolution was accomplished in the Carnatic. This revolution, on which a great part of the history of the English East India Company depends, it is now necessary to explain. Carnatic is the name given to a large district of country along the coast of Coromandel, extending from near the river Kistna, to the northern branch of the Cavery. In extending westward from the sea, it was distinguished into two parts, the first, including the level country between the sea and the first range of mountains, and entitled Carnatic below the Ghauts, the second, including the table land between the first and second range of mountains, and called Carnatic above the Ghauts. A corresponding tract, extending from the northern branch of the Cavery to Cape Comorin, sometimes also receives the name of Carnatic, but in that case it is distinguished by the title of the Southern Carnatic⁴.

¹ Orme, i 109—119 History and Management of the East India Company p 68—70

² History and Management, p 69

³ This is related by Orme, (ii 318,) who tells us not who this uncle was (he must have been maternal) but only that he was the guide of his nephew, and the head of his party

⁴ According to Colonel Wilks, (p 5,) the ancient name was Canara, and the Canara language is only found within a district bounded by a line, beginning near the town of Beder, about sixty miles N W from Hyderabad, waving S E by the town of Adoni, then to the west of Gooti, next by the town of Anatpoor, next Nundidroog, next to the eastern Ghauts, thence along the range of the eastern Ghauts southwards to the pass of Gujhelhutty, thence by the chasm of the western hills, between the towns of Colmbetoor, Palatchi, and Palgant, thence northwards along the skirts of the western Ghauts, nearly as far as the sources of the Kistna, thence in an eastern and afterwards north-eastern direction to Beder. He adds, (p 6,) that the Tamul language was spoken in the tract extending from Pullicat, (the boundary of the Talinga language on the south,) to Cape Comorin, and from the sea to the eastern Ghauts. This tract bore,

BOOK IV The district of Carnatic had fallen into dependence upon
char II the great rajaships of Beejanuggur and Warankul; and

 1 40 after the reduction of these Hindu powers, had been
 united to the Mohammedan kingdoms of Beejapore and Golconda. Upon the annexation of these kingdoms to the Mogul empire in the reign of Aurungzib, the Carnatic was included in the general subjugation, and formed part of the great Subah of the Deccan. In the smaller provinces or viceroyalties, the districts or subdivisions, were proportionally small and the sub-governors of these divisions were known by the titles of Zemindar and Phouzdar or Fouzdar. In the great Subahs, however particularly that of the Deccan, the primary divisions were very large, and the first rank of sub-governors proportionally high. They were known by the name of nabob or deputy that is, deputy of the Subahdar or Viceroy governor of the Subah; and under these deputies or nabobs were the Zemindars and Fouzdars of the districts. The Carnatic was one of the nabobships, or grand divisions of the great Sulah of the Deccan. During the vigour of the Mogul government, the grand deputies or nabobs, though immediately subject to the Subahdar or Viceroy were not always nominated by him. They were often nominated immediately by the Emperor and not unfrequently as a check upon the dangerous power of the Subahdar. When the Subahdar however was powerful, and the Emperor weak the nabobs were nominated by the Subahdar.

When Nizam al Mulk was established Subahdar of the Deccan, a chief, named Sadatullah, was nabob of the Carnatic, and held that command under the Nizam till the year 1732, when he died. Sadatullah, who had no issue male adopted the two sons of his brother Dost Ali, and Bakir Ali. Bakir Ali he made governor of Velore and he had influence to leave Dost Ali in possession of the nabobship at his death. Nizam al Mulk claimed a right to nominate his deputy in the government of the Carnatic; and took displeasure that Dost Ali had been intruded into the office with so little deference to his authority;

secretly, the name of Dra Ma, although, says the C. vol., "the first part of it is known to have arrived only by the name of L. G. It is called by the Mohammedans, Carnatic below the Ghats, from whence it is called Carnatic above the Ghats."

but he happened to be engaged at the time in disputes with the Emperor, which rendered it inconvenient to resent the affront Dost Ali had two sons and four daughters Of these daughters one was married to Mortiz Ali, the son of his brother Bâkir Ali, governor of Velore , another to Chunda Saheb, a more distant relative, who became dewan, or minister of the finances, under Dost Ali, his father-in-law

BOOK IV
CHAP II

1749

Trichinopoly was a little sovereignty bordering on the west upon Tanjore Though subdued by the Mogul, it had been allowed, after the manner of Tanjore, to retain, as Zemindar, its own sovereign, accountable for the revenues and other services, required from it as a district of the Mogul empire The rajas of Tanjore and Trichinopoly were immediately accountable to the nabobs of the Carnatic , and, like other Zemindars, frequently required the terror of an army to make them pay their arrears In the year 1736 the Raja of Trichinopoly died, and the sovereignty passed into the hands of his wife The supposed weakness of female government pointed out the occasion as favourable for enforcing the payment of the arrears , or for seizing the immediate government of the country By intrigue and perfidy, Chunda Saheb was admitted into the city , when, imprisoning the queen, who soon died with grief, he was appointed, by his father-in-law, governor of the kingdom.¹

The Hindu Rajas were alarmed by the ambitious proceedings of the Nabob of the Carnatic and his son-in-law,

¹ By Mr Orme, i 41 Colonel Wilks states, on verbal authority, that the Mahrattas were invited by the eldest son of the Nabob, jealous of Chunda Saheb, *ubi supra*, p. 251 —M

This is rather incorrectly abridged from Orme, who states that the collection of the revenue was only a pretext, the real object being to take advantage not of female weakness, but of a disputed succession The Hindu princes of Tanjore and Trichinopoly had never been subdued by the Mogul, and although at times compelled to purchase the forbearance of the Mohammedan states of Bijapur or Golconda, they had preserved their independence from a remote date The expulsion of their native princes was owing to domestic dissensions, which transferred Tanjore to a Mahratta ruler, and gave Trichinopoly to a Mohammedan The latter was a relic of the Hindu kingdom of Madura, and according to original authorities, Chanda Sahib obtained possession of it, not under the circumstances described by the European writers, who were avowedly ill informed of the real merits of the case, but by an act of treachery to his ally Minakshi Amman, the reigning queen, whose adopted son he had zealously defended against a competitor for the principality—grateful for his support, and confiding in his friendship, the Queen gave him free access to the citadel, and he abused her confidence by making himself treacherously master of the fortress See Historical Sketch of the Kingdom of Pandya J Roy As Society, vol iii p 199 —W

BOOK IV and incited the Mahrattas, as people of the same origin
CHAP. II. and religion, to march to their assistance. The attention

 1749. of Nizam al Mulk was too deeply engaged in watching the
 motions of Nadir Shah, who, at that very time, was prosecut-
 ing his destructive war in Hindustan, to oppose a
 prompt resistance to the Mahrattas. It has, indeed, been
 asserted, though without proof, and not with much proba-
 bility that as he was but little pleased with the appoint-
 ment or proceedings of Dost Ali, he instigated the Mahrattas
 to this incursion, for the sake of chastising the presumption
 of his deputy.

An army commanded by Ragojee Bonalah, appeared on
 the confines of Carnatic, in the month of May 1740. The
 passes of the mountains might have been successfully
 defended by a small number of men but an officer of
 Dost Ali, a Hindu, to whom that important post was com-
 mitted, betrayed his trust, and left a free passage to the
 Mahrattas. Dost Ali encountered the invaders but lost
 his life in the battle. Sufder Ali, the eldest son of the
 deceased, retired to the strong fort of Vellore and began
 to negotiate with the Mahrattas. A large sum of money
 was partly promised, and partly paid and Trichinopoly
 which rendered Chunda Sahib an object of jealousy to the
 new Nabob, was secretly offered to them, if they chose the
 trouble of making the conquest. They returned in a few
 months and laid siege to Trichinopoly. Chunda Sahib
 defended himself gallantly for several months, but was
 obliged to yield on the 6th of March, 1741 and was
 carried a prisoner to Satara; while Morari Rao a Mah-
 ratta chief, was left Governor of Trichinopoly. Sufder Ali,
 afraid to trust himself in the open city of Arcot the capital
 of the Carnatic, took up his residence at Vellore. Malik Ali
 was dead, the late governor of Vellore and uncle of the
 Nabob; and Mortix Ali, his son, was now governor in his
 place. By instigation of this man, whose disposition was
 perfidious and cruel, Sufder Ali was assassinated and an
 attempt was made by the murderer to establish himself
 in the government of the province; but, finding his
 efforts hopeless, he shut himself up in his fort of Vellore;
 and the infant son of Sufder Ali was proclaimed Nabob.¹

¹ For this part of the history of the Deccan in detail, see Ousey, L. Y.—*A Short
 History of India*, p. 1—6; *History and State, recent of the East Ind. Co.*

Nizam al Mulk, however, had now left the court of BOOK IV. Delhi, and returned to his government of the Deccan. To CHAP II arrange the troubled affairs of the Carnatic, he arrived at ————— Arcot in the month of March, 1743 He treated the son of Sufder Ali with respect, but appointed his general Cojah Abdooolla, to the government of the Carnatic, and compelled Morari Row, and the Mahrattas, to evacuate Trichinopoly. Cojah Abdooolla died suddenly, apparently through poison, before he had taken possession of his government, and the Nizam appointed Anwar ad din Khan, to supply his place. Anwar ad din Khan, the son of a man noted for his learning and piety, had been promoted to a place of some distinction, by the father of Nizam al Mulk, and after his death attached himself to the fortunes of his son. When Nizam al Mulk became Subahdar of the Deccan, he made Anwar ad din Nabob of Ellore and Rajamundry where he governed from the year 1725 to 1741, and from that period till the death of Cojah Abdooolla, he served as Governor of Golconda. In ostent, Nizam al Mulk conferred the government of the Carnatic upon Anwar ad din, only for a time, till Seid Mohammed, the young Son of Sufder Ali, should arrive at the years of manhood, but, in the mean while, he consigned him to the guardianship of Anwar ad din, and in a short time the young Nabob was murdered by a party of Patan soldiers, who clamoured for arrears of pay, due to them, or pretended to be due, by his father. Anwar ad din escaped not the imputation of being the author of the crime, but he was supported by Nizam al Mulk, and appointed Nabob in form. It was Anwar ad din, who was the Governor of the Carnatic when the French and English contended for Madras, and whom Dupleix treated alternately as a friend and a foe.

Nizam al Mulk, whose abilities and power were calculated to confirm the arrangements which he had made in the Deccan, died in 1748, after a whole life spent in the toils and agitations of oriental ambition, at the extraordinary age of 104. The government of Sadatullah and his family had been highly popular in the Carnatic, that of

Company, p 60—72, Mémoire pour Dupleix, p 35—43, Mémoire contre Dupleix, p 19—59, Révolution des Indes, I 67—289 This last work was published anonymously in two volumes 12mo in 1757 It is written with partiality to Dupleix, but the author is well informed, and a man of talents The leading facts are shortly noticed by Wilks, ch vii

BOOK IV Anwar ad din Khan was very much hated. A strong desire
CHAP II. prevailed that the government of Anwar ad din should be

 1749 subverted, and that of the family of Sadatullah restored.
 the death of Nizam al Mulk opened a channel through
 which the hope of change made its way. Chunda Saheb
 was the only member of the family of Sadatullah, who
 possessed talents likely to support him in the ascent to
 the proposed elevation. The keen eye of Dupleix had
 early fixed itself upon the prospect of the ascendancy of
 Chunda Saheb and if that chief should, by the as-
 sistance of the French, acquire the government of the
 Carnatic, the most important concessions might be ex-
 pected from his gratitude and friendship. At the first
 irruption of the Mahrattas, the whole family of Dost Ali
 had been sent to Pondicherry (so strongly had the In-
 dians already learned to confide in the superiority of Eu-
 ropean power,) as the place of greatest safety in the pro-
 vince. They received protection and respect and the
 wife and family of Chunda Saheb, during the whole time
 of his captivity had never been removed. Dupleix treated
 them with the attention calculated to make a favourable
 impression on the man whom he wished to gain. He even
 corresponded with Chunda Saheb in his captivity and
 agreed to advance money to assist in raising the sum
 which the Mahrattas demanded for his ransom. He was
 liberated in the beginning of the year 1748, and even
 furnished, it is said, with 3000 Mahratta troops. He
 entered immediately into the quarrels of some contending
 Rajas, whose dominions lay inland between the coast of
 Malabar and the Carnatic, with a view to increase his
 followers, and collect treasure; and he was already at the
 head of 6000 men, when the death of Nizam al Mulk oc-
 curred.

To maintain his authority in his absence both at court
 and in his province Nizam al Mulk had procured the high
 office of Ameer al Omrah, for his eldest son, Gharee ad din
 Khan, who always attended the person of the Emperor.
 His second son, Nazir Jung, had resided for the most part
 in the Deccan, and had officiated as his father's deputy as
 often as the wars of the empire or the intrigues of the
 court, had called him away. Though the obedience of
 Nazir Jung had been so little perfect as to have been

lately chastised even by imprisonment, he was present BOOK IV when his father died, the army was accustomed to obey CHAP II him, he got possession of his father's treasures, the Emperor was far too weak to assert his right of nomination, and Nazir Jung assumed the power and titles of Subahdar of the Deccan

1749

There was, however, a favourite grandson of Nizam al Mulk, the son of a descendant of Sadhoollah Khan, Vizir to Shah Jehan, by a daughter of Nizam al Mulk His name was Hedayet Mohy ad din, to which he added the title of Moozuffer Jung He had been Nabob of Beejapore for several years, during the life of his grandfather, who, it was now given out and believed, had nominated him successor by his will¹ Such a competitor for the government of the Deccan appeared to Chunda Saheb the very man on whom his hopes might repose He offered his services, and they were greedily received To attain the assistance of Dupleix was regarded by them both as an object of the highest importance, and in a Subahdar of the Deccan, and a Nabob of the Carnatic, whom he himself should be the chief instrument in raising to power, Dupleix contemplated the highest advantages, both for himself and for his country Chunda Saheb persuaded Moozuffer Jung that they ought to commence their operations in the Carnatic, where the interest of the family of Chunda Saheb would afford advantages Their troops had increased to the number of 40,000 men, when they approached the confines of the Carnatic They were joined here by the French, who consisted of 400 Europeans, 100 Caffres, and 1800 Sepoys, commanded by M d'Auteuil.² They immediately advanced towards Anwar ad din, whom on the 3rd of August, 1749, they found encamped under the fort of Amboor, fifty miles west from Aicot The French offered to storm the intrenchment, and though twice beaten back, they advanced three times to the charge, and at last prevailed Anwar ad din was slain in the engagement, at the uncommon age of 107 years, his eldest son was taken prisoner, and his second son Mohammed Ali, with the wreck

¹ Seer Mutakhareen, iii 115 Wilks says he was governor of the strong fort of Adoni, ch vii

² Mémoire pour la Compagnie des Indes contre le Sieur Dupleix, p 39

BOOK IV of the army escaped to Trichinopoly, of which he was
 CHAP II Governor.¹

Dupleix affirms, that had the victorious leaders, according to his advice, advanced without delay against Trichinopoly while the consternation of defeat remained, they would have obtained immediate possession of the place, and the success of their enterprise would have been assured. They chose, however to go first to Arcot, that they might play for a while the Subahdar and Nabob they afterwards paid a visit at Pondicherry to M Dupleix, who gratified himself by receiving them with oriental display and was gifted with the sovereignty of eighty-one villages in the neighbourhood of the settlement.

They marched not from Pondicherry till the very end of October and instead of proceeding directly against Trichinopoly as they had settled with Dupleix, they directed their march to the city of Tanjore. The urgency of their pecuniary wants, and the prospect of an ample supply from the hoards of Tanjore made them undervalue the delay. The king was summoned to pay his arrears of tribute, and a large sum as compensation for the expense of the war. By negotiation, by promises, and stratagems, he endeavoured, and the softness of his enemies enabled him, to occupy their time till the very end of December when news arrived that Nazir Jung, the Subahdar was on his march to attack them.

Nazir Jung had been summoned, upon his accession, to the imperial presence and had advanced with a considerable army as far as the Nerbukka, when a counter-order arrived. Informed of the ambitious designs of his nephew he accelerated his return; and was arrived at Aurangabad when he heard of the overthrow and death of the Nabob of the Carnatic. The impolitic delays of his enemies afforded

¹ Orme I 127; Memoirs et seqq., p. 40; Mémoires pour le Sieur Dupleix, p. 43.

Mémoires pour Dupleix, p. 47. The French Corps were to their loss & against Dupleix (p. 44) that it was a gratuity to vanity by this display that the chief delayed the march to Trichinopoly which seemed the intention of neutrality. Orme says, with better reason, that taking the army to Madras it was necessary to obtain money which they levied by contribution in the province.

Orme, I 123—124; Mémoires pour Dupleix, p. 51. The French Corps, however Dupleix again falsely of being the author of the ill-famed invasion of Tellicherry, censures Dupleix, p. 42.

Peer Metcalfehara, III. 113. Mr Orme (I. 126) is ridiculous here! says that Nazir Jung had marched toward Delhi, he argues his brother it was a subsequent date that Gheria had got to it in December.

time for his preparations, and they were struck with consternation when they now heard of his approach. They broke up their camp with precipitation, and, harassed by a body of Mahrattas, in the service of Nazir Jung, returned to Pondicherry¹

BOOK IV
CHAP II
1749

Dupleix was admirably calculated for the tricks of Indian policy. Though he exerted himself with the utmost vigour to animate the spirits, and augment the force of his allies, lending them 50,000*l*, declaring that he would lend them still more, and increasing the French forces to the number of 2000 Europeans, yet contemplating now, with some terror, the chance of a defeat, he sought to be prepared for all events, and endeavoured secretly to open a negotiation with Nazir Jung. He addressed to him a memorial, in which he set forth the enmity which was borne by Anwar ad din to the French nation, and the necessity under which they were placed to avail themselves of any allies, to secure themselves from its effects, that the death of that Nabob, however, had now freed them from such obligation, and they were ready to detach themselves from the enemies of Nazir Jung, that they had already manifested their friendly dispositions towards him, in sparing Tanjore, and suspending the siege of Trichinopoly, which the victorious army of them and their allies, there was no doubt, might have easily taken². It was only, says Dupleix, the arrival of an English force in the camp of Nazir Jung, that prevented the Subahdar from embracing the proposal³.

From the beginning of 1747, the English had been intriguing, both with Nizam al Mulk and with Nazir Jung, against the French. Besides a letter from the English Governor to the same effect, Commodore Griffin, in a letter to Nizam al Mulk, dated March 6, 1747, said, "I shall not enter into a particular detail of all the robberies, cruelties, and depredations, committed on shore upon the King my Master's subjects, by that insolent, perfidious nation the French, connived at, and abetted by those under your Excellency, (the Nabob of Arcot,) whose duty it was to have preserved the peace of your country, instead of selling the interest of a nation, with whom you have had the

¹ Orme, i 136, 137,

² Mémoire pour Dupleix, p 53

³ Ib d. p 54

BOOK IV strictest friendship time out of mind a nation that has
 CHAP II been the means not only of enriching this part of the
 country but the whole dominions of the grand Mogul; and
 142. that to a people who are remarkable all over the world
 for encroaching upon, and giving disturbances and disquiet
 to all near them a people who are strangers in your coun-
 try in comparison of those who have been robbed by them
 of that most important fortress and factory Madras and
 now they are possessed of it, have neither money nor cre-
 dit, to carry on the trade.—And now excellent Sir we
 have laid this before you, for your information and considera-
 tion and must entreat you, in the name of the King
 of Great Britain, my Royal Master to call the Nabob to an
 account for his past transactions, and interpose your power
 to restore, as near as possible in its original state, what
 has been so unjustly taken from us." Application was at
 the same time made to Nazir Jung for his interest with
 his father which that prince assures the English by letter
 he had effectually employed. A favourable answer was re-
 ceived from Nizam al Sulk, and a mandate was sent to Anwar
 ad din Khan, called at that time by the English Awaryn
 Khan in which were the following words "The English na-
 tion, from ancient times, are very obedient and serviceable to
 us besides which they always proved to be a set of true
 people, and it is very hard that they met with these trou-
 bles, misfortunes, and destruction. I do therefore write
 you, to protect, aid, and assist them in all respects, and
 use your best endeavours in such a manner that the
 French may be severely chastised and rooted off, the his
 Majesty's sea port town may be recovered, and that the
 English nation may be restored to their right, establish
 themselves in their former place as before and carry on
 their trade and commerce for the flourishing of the
 place. An agent of the English, a native named Hajee
 Hodee, who dates his letter from Arcot, the 10th of March,
 1747 presents them with the real state of the fact in re-
 gard to Anwar ad din, the Nabob I take the liberty to
 acquaint your worship, that as the Nabob is but a master
 he does not much regard the distress of the people of this
 province, but in all shapes has respect to his own interest
 and benefit therefore there is no trusting to his promises.
 The French are very generous in making presents of other

people's goods, both to the old and young" He advises the BOOK IV.
 English to be equally liberal with their gifts, and says, "Don't
 regard the money, as Governor Morse did, but part with it
 for the safety of your settlement" Another of their
 agents, Boundla Mootal, informed them that if they ex-
 pected any cordial assistance from Anwar ad din, they
 must send him money for it. The second son of Anwar
 ad din, Mohammed Ali Khan, showed himself during this
 period of French ascendency, rather favourable to the
 English probably, from that spirit of discord which pre-
 vails in the ruling families of the East, because his eldest
 brother displayed a partiality to the French¹

CHAP II

1749

When, after the deaths of Nizam al Mulk and Anwar ad din Khan, and the captivity of the eldest son of Anwar ad din Khan, Nazir Jung marched into the Carnatic against Chunda Saheb and Moozuffer Jung, he summoned Mohammed Ali to join him from Trichinopoly, and sent to Fort St David to solicit assistance from the English. The arrival of Moozuffer Jung, the defeat of Anwar ad din, which hap-
 pened when they were engaged in the attack of Tanjore, and the apprehended schemes of Dupleix, had struck the English with alarm "They saw," says Mr Orme, "the dangers to which they were exposed, but were incapable of taking the vigorous resolutions which the necessity of their affairs demanded" They allowed Mⁱ Boscawen, with the fleet and troops, to set sail for England at the end of October, and sent only 120 Europeans to support Mohammed Ali at Trichinopoly² The presence, however, of Nazir Jung, at the head of a great army, encouraged them to command the detachment at Trichinopoly to accompany Mohammed Ali, and a few days after their arrival in the camp, Major Lawrence, with 600 Europeans from Fort St David, joined the army of the Subahdar

The two armies were now sufficiently near to skirmish, when thirteen French officers, displeased that they had not shared in the spoils of Tanjore, resigned their commis-
 sions, and infused terror and alarm into the men they
 were destined to command D'Auteuil, considering it no
 longer safe to venture into action with men thus affected,
 decamped the night before the expected battle, and re-
 treated in the direction of Pondicherry, leaving Moozuffer

¹ Rous's Appendix, i 8—22² Orme, i 130, 133, 138

BOOK IV Jung and Chunda Sahib, in a state of despair. Mooruffer
char II Jung thought it best to yield himself up to his uncle, by

 142 whom he was immediately put in fetters. Chunda Sahib, with his own troops, made his way to Pondicherry¹

The dangers were formidable and imminent which now stared Dupleix in the face but he had confidence in the resources of his own genius, and the slippery footing of an oriental prince. He sent an embassy to the camp of the victorious Subahdar offering terms of peace and at the same time entered into correspondence with some disaffected chiefs in his army; these were leaders of the Patan troops, which Nizam al Mulk, as the principal instrument of his ambition, had maintained in his service; and of which he had made the principal captains Nabobs of different districts in his Subah. It was the standing policy of all the Mohammedan princes in India to compose a great part of their armies of men drawn from the more hardy people of the north, the Tartars and Afghans. Of these people the men who arrived in India were mere soldiers of fortune, accustomed to seek for wealth and distinction through crimes. If the master whom they served were able to chastise their perfidy and feed their hopes of plunder and aggrandizement by the prospect of his conquests, they were useful and important instruments. The moment they appeared to have more to gain by destroying than by serving him, they were the most alarming source of his danger.

Nazir Jung had the usual character of a man educated a prince. He devoted his time to pleasure, and withdrew it from business; decided without consideration, hence unwisely and was at once too indolent and too proud to correct his mistakes. Under such a master the Patan lords expected, by selling their services to a competitor to add both to their treasures, and to the territories of which the government was lodged in their hands.

The deputies of Dupleix had returned from the camp of Nazir Jung, when D'Auteuil, who continued to watch the motions of the army observing the negligence with which the camp was guarded during the night, detached an

¹ Cambridge's War in India, p. 6-11; Orme, L 124-172; History and Memorials of the East India Company, p. 13; A more poor in L. S. p. 441; Memorie contro Dupleix, p. 47. Evidently due to L. S. 222-233.

officer with 300 hundred men, who entered it unobserved, BOOK IV.
 penetrated into it a mile , spread terror and alarm , killed CHAP II.
 upwards of a thousand of the enemy , and returned with
 the loss of only two or three men , another proof of the
 extraordinary weakness of an Indian army, when opposed
 to the force of the European mind

1750.

The Subahdar, alarmed at the presence of so enterprising an enemy, hastened to Arcot , while the English quarrelling with him about the performance of his promises, and the abandonment of their cause by withdrawing his army, left the camp in disgust, and removed the only important obstacle to the machinations of the conspirators and Dupleix

While the Subahdar spent his time at Arcot in the pleasures of the harem and the chase, of both of which he was immoderately fond, the French exhibited new specimens of their activity and enterprise A small body of troops sailed to Masulipatam, at the mouth of the river Kistna, once the principal mart of that region of India , attacked it by surprise in the night, and gained possession with a trifling loss and another detachment seized the Pagoda of Trivadi, about fifteen miles west from Fort St David. Mohammed Ali obtained permission to detach himself from the army of the Subahdar, for the purpose of dislodging them from Trivadi , in this he obtained assistance from the English, who were deeply interested in preventing the French from gaining a position so near Some attacks which Mohammed Ali and the English made upon the pagoda were unsuccessful , and these allies began to quarrel. Mohammed Ali would neither advance pay to the English, nor move his troops between the pagoda and Pondicherry , upon which they left him The French, who expected this event, waited for its arrival , attacked Mohammed Ali , gained an easy victory, and made him fly to Arcot, with two or three attendants The French, still aiming at further acquisitions, advanced against the celebrated Fort of Gingee, situated on a vast insulated rock, and deemed the strongest fortress in the Carnatic They stormed the fortifications to the very summit of the mountain , and contemplating afterwards the natural strength of the place, felt astonished at their own success

BOOK IV This last exploit disturbed the tranquillity and the amusements of the Subahdar and he offered to enter upon negotiation. The demands of the French were lofty. Nazir Jung, therefore began his march to Gingee. But it was now October 1750, and the rains began. The Subahdar kept the field but felt exceedingly weary of the contest; and at last appeared inclined to concede whatever was demanded by the French. Dupleix negotiated at once with the traitors and the Subahdar. He had just concluded his treaty with the Subahdar when his commander at Gingee received from the traitors the concerted call. He marches with his whole force attacks the camp of the Subahdar and is joined by the traitors by one of whom Nazir Jung is shot through the heart. In his Memoir Dupleix affirms, that he wrote immediately to inform the Commander at Gingee of the conclusion of the treaty and to prevent further hostilities, but that his letter arrived not till after the revolution was performed.

Mooraffer Jung was now freed from his imprisonment, and vested with the authority of Subahdar. Immediately however the enormous demands of the Patan nobles, to whose perfidy he owed his power began to oppress him; and he only parried their importunities by asserting the necessity of forming his arrangements in concert with Dupleix. Lofty were the hopes, in which that ambitious leader seemed now entitled to indulge himself. Mooraffer Jung advanced to Pondicherry and lavished upon him every testimony of gratitude and friendship. Dupleix exerted himself to satisfy the Patan lords who, seeing his determination to support their master permitted him to retrench their demand and treasured up their resentments for a future day. An adept in Indian policy when he had men of their dangerous character within the walls of Pondicherry would have taken care how they made their escape.

Dupleix was appointed Governor of the Mogul domi-

It is worthy of remark that the death of Nazir Jung and the treat or that ensued, might possibly have been prevented if there had been one among the English qualified to converse with the Subahdar in any native language. Major Lawrence had been informed of some of the intrigues between the two and the French, and "as an assurance endeavoured to accost Nazir Jung who did not have a beard, but his interpreter had not courage to speak" — dollars were given to the interpreter to prevent him his life and misinterpreted has he succeeded to say —Orme L 145.—W

nions on the coast of Coromandel from the river Kistna to BOOK IV
 Cape Comorin , and Chunda Saheb his Deputy at Arcot CHAP II
 Mohammed Ali, who had fled to Trichinopoly, upon the
 assassination of Nazir Jung, now offered to resign his pre-
 tensions to the nabobship of the Carnatic, provided Du-
 pleix, who listened to the overture, would obtain from the
 new Subahdar a command for him, in any other part of
 his dominions

1751

Moozuffer Jung left Pondicherry in the month of January, 1751, accompanied by a body of French troops, with M. Bussy, who had signalized himself in the late transactions, at their head The army had marched about sixty leagues , when a disturbance, in appearance accidental, arose among a part of the troops , presently it was discovered, that the Patan chiefs were in revolt , and that they had seized a pass in front through which it behoved the army to proceed They were attacked with great spirit, the French artillery carried every thing before it , and a victory was gained, when the impetuosity of the Subahdar carried him too far in the pursuit, and he was shot dead with an arrow¹ M Bussy was not a man who lost his presence of mind, upon an unexpected disaster He represented to the principal commanders the necessity of agreeing immediately upon the choice of a master , and as the son of Moozuffer Jung was an infant, and the present state of affairs required the authority of a man of years, he recommended Salabut Jung, the eldest surviving son of Nizam al Mulk, who was present in the camp, and who without delay was raised to the vacant command Salabut Jung promised the same concessions to the French which had been made by his predecessor, and the army continued its march towards Golconda.²

The Europeans in India, who hitherto had crouched at the feet of the meanest of the petty governors of a district, were astonished at the progress of the French, who now

¹ Orme says he was killed in personal conflict with the Nabob of Canoul, by whom he was thrust through the forehead with a javelin i 64 —W

² For the above details see Orme i 142—166 History and Management of the East India Company, p 74—79, Cambridge's War in India, p 10—16 Seer Mutakhareen, iii 116—118, the author of which says that Moozuffer Jung had a plot against the Patans, who on this occasion were not the aggressors, Mémoire pour Dupleix, p 55—68, who says he entered into the conspiracy against Nazir Jung because he would not listen to peace, Mémoire contre Dupleix, p 47—61 Wilks, chap vii , with whom Dupleix is a favourite

BOOK IV seemed to preside over the whole region of the Deccan.
 CHAP. II. A letter to Dupleix, from a friend in the camp of Salabat
 Jang, affirmed that in a little time the Mogul on his
 1st 31 throne would tremble at the name of Dupleix¹ and how
 ever presumptuous this prophecy might appear little was
 wanting to secure its fulfilment.

The English, sunk in apathy or despair were so far as yet from taking any vigorous measures to oppose a torrent by which they were likely to be overwhelmed, that Major Lawrence, the commander of the troops, on whose military talents and authority their whole dependence was placed, took the extraordinary resolution, not opposed, it would seem, by the Council, of returning at this critical juncture to England. They used their influence, indeed, to prevent Mohammed Ali from carrying into execution the proposal he had made to the French of surrendering Trichinopoly; but Mohammed Ali, and the English in concert, made offer to acknowledge Chunda Saheb, Nabob of all the Carnatic, with the exception of Trichinopoly and its dependencies. This the French treated as a departure from the original proposal of Mohammed Ali, and replied with haughtiness and contempt. The English now engaged to support him, and he resolved to hold out. The governor of Madura, however a small adjacent province, formerly a Hindu rajaship, declared for Chunda Saheb, and an attempt, made by a party of the English, to reduce it, was repelled.

Towards the beginning of April, Chunda Saheb began his march from Arcot and about the same time Captain Gingens, with the English, was despatched from Fort St David. Chunda Saheb was encamped near the Fort of Voleondah, on the great road between Trichinopoly and Arcot, when the English approached. A battle was brought on but the English officers spent so much time in deliberation as to discourage the men and the European soldiers fled shamefully from the field, even while the Caffres and native troops maintained the contest. The army retreated; and though it posted itself, and encamped at two different places, Utatoor and Pichonda. It quitted both upon the arrival of the enemy and at last took shelter under the walls of Trichinopoly. Chunda

¹ Mémoire sur le Dépot.

Saheb and the French lost no time in following, and sat down on the opposite side of the town

BOOK IV

CHAP II

1751

The city of Trichinopoly, at the distance of about ninety miles from the sea, is situated on the south side of the great river Cavery, about half a mile from its bank, and, for an Indian city, was fortified with extraordinary strength. About five miles higher up than Trichinopoly, the Cavery divides itself into two branches, which, after separating to the distance of about two miles, again approached, and being only prevented from uniting, about fifteen miles below Trichinopoly, by a narrow mound, they form a peninsula, which goes by the name of the Island of Seringham, celebrated as containing one of the most remarkable edifices, and one of the most venerated pagodas, in India, and henceforward remarkable for the struggle, constituting an era in the history of India, of which it was now to be the scene.

The presidency of Fort St David, somewhat roused by seeing the army of Mohammed Ali driven out of the Carnatic, and obliged to take shelter beyond the Cavery, made several efforts to reinforce the troops they had sent him, whom, after all, they were able to augment to the number of only 600 men. There was another misfortune; for notwithstanding the urgency with which, in the depressed and alarming state of their affairs, the English were called upon for the utmost exertions of their virtue, "a fatal spirit of division," says Major Lawrence, "had unhappily crept in among our officers, so that many opportunities and advantages were lost, which gave the country alliance but an indifferent opinion of our conduct"¹. The French, however, made but feeble efforts for the reduction of the place, and the English were too much impressed with an opinion of their own weakness to hazard any enterprize to dislodge them².

¹ Lawrence's Narrative in Cambridge's War in India, p 28. "In the middle of July," says Orme, i 182, "the discontent which prevailed among the officers, made it necessary to remove several of them, at a time when there were very few fit to succeed to their posts."

² Law, the commander of the French forces, whom I am much more inclined to believe than Dupleix, one of the most audacious contemners of truth that ever engaged in crooked politics, asserts his want of strength for any efficient operation, as Dupleix who had entered into a correspondence with Mohammed Ali, and relied upon his promise to open to the French the gates of Trichinopoly, sent him, not to attack Trichinopoly, but to receive possession of it. He adds, that when they were surprised by Mohammed Ali's firing upon

BOOK IV While the war thus lingered at Trichinopoly Clive, who had been made a captain, to supply some of the removals occasioned by the recent discontents, persuaded the Presidency to create a diversion, by sending him to attack Arcot, the capital of Chunda Sahib, left with a very slender defence. This young man was the son of a gentleman of small fortune in Shropshire. From the untractableness of his own disposition, or the unsteadiness of his father's, he was moved when a boy from one to another through a great variety of schools at which he was daring, impetuous, averse to application, and impatient of control. At the age of nineteen he was appointed a writer in the service of the East India Company and sent to Madras. There his turbulence, though he was not ill-natured, engaged him in quarrels with his equals; his dislike of application and control prevented his acquiring the benevolence of his superiors.¹ When the capitulation with Madras was violated, Clive made his escape in a Mohammedan dress to Fort St. David, and when the siege of Pondicherry was undertaken, he was allowed to enter into the military service with the rank of an ensign. At the siege of Pondicherry and the enterprise against Devi Cotah, he rendered himself conspicuous by courting posts of danger and exhibiting in them a daring intrepidity. Discerning men, however, perceived, along with his rashness, a coolness and presence of mind, with a readiness of resource in the midst of danger which made Lawrence, at an early period, point him out as a man of promise. Upon the conclusion of the affair at Devi-Cotah, Clive returned to his civil occupation but no sooner did his countrymen resume the sword, than his own disposition,

these from the walls, they had not as a place of battering heavy guns in the camp; that it was three months before they were supplied with any; that at first the whole army consisted of 11,000, & afterwards detailed for the recovery of Arcot, is considered only of 6, 40, of whom 2,000 were Europeans. See Flahaut d' Cheverier Law on the War Department p 21 22. Dugdale, on the other hand (Missions p 16 speaking in regard thereto) says that the natives who had joined Canada & their friends in the army, & 30,000 more. So widely extended are the admissions of these two men, at the head of the departmental, civil and military.

See genealogical life of him, for which his family furnished much, in Clive's Autobiography Britannia, vol II. art Clive - W.

The late biographer of Clive Mr J. M. L. M., advertizing to the passage, remarks, that the justice of the epithets of the system but are not borne out by the fact. Certainly there is nothing in the history of his life to warrant the epithet. He seems to have been illiberal and dogged, rather than turbulent. - W.

and the scarcity of officers, again involved him in operations, far better suited to his restless, daring, and contentious mind. He had accompanied the troops sent for the defence of Trichinopoly, till after the affair at Volcondah, and had been employed by the Presidency in conducting the several reinforcements which they had attempted to forward. He was now furnished with 200 Europeans and 300 Sepoys, and to spare even these, Fort St David and Madras were left, for their defence, the one with 100, and the other with fifty men. To command them he had eight officers, of whom six had never been in action, and four were young men in the mercantile service of the Company, whom his own example had inflamed. For artillery they had three field-pieces, and two eighteen pounders were sent after him. The enemy, who remained in garrison at Arcot, which was an open town, defended by a fort, abandoned the place, and gave him possession without resistance. Expecting a siege, he exerted his utmost diligence to supply the fort, and that he might prevent the fugitive garrison, who hovered around, from resuming their courage, he made frequent sallies, beat up their camp in the middle of the night, defended himself with vigour when assailed, and harassed them by incessant and daring attacks. In the meantime Chunda Saheb detached 4000 men from his army at Trichinopoly, which were joined by his son with 150 Europeans from Pondicherry, and, together with the troops already collected in the neighbourhood, to the number of 3000, entered the city. Clive immediately resolved upon a violent attempt to dislodge them. Going out with almost the whole of the garrison, he with his artillery forced the enemy to leave the street in which they had posted themselves, but filling the houses they fired upon his men, and obliged him to withdraw to the fort. In warring against the people of Hindustan, a few men so often gain unaccountable victories over a host, that on a disproportion of numbers solely no enterprise can be safely condemned as rash; in this, however, Clive ran the greatest risk, with but a feeble prospect of success. He lost fifteen of his Europeans, and among them a lieutenant, and his only artillery officer, with sixteen other men, was disabled.

Next day the enemy was reinforced with 2000 men from

BOOK IV

CHAP II

1752

BOOK IV Velora. The fort was more than a mile in circumference
 CHAP II. the walls in many places ruinous the towers inconven-
 tient and decayed and everything unfavourable to de-
 fence yet Clive found the means of making an effectual
 resistance. When the enemy attempted to storm at two
 breaches, one of fifty and one of ninety feet, he repulsed
 them with but eighty Europeans and 120 Sepoys fit for
 duty so effectually did he avail himself of his feeble
 resources, and to such a pitch of fortitude had he exalted
 the spirit of those under his command. During the fol-
 lowing night the enemy abandoned the town with pre-
 cipitation, after they had maintained the siego for fifty
 days. A reinforcement from Madras joined him on the
 following day and, leaving a small garrison in Arcot, he
 set out to pursue the enemy. With the assistance of a
 small body of Mahrattas, who joined him in hopes of
 plunder he gave the enemy now greatly reduced by the
 dropping away of the auxiliaries, a defeat at Arni, and re-
 covered Conjeeram, into which the French had thrown
 a garrison, and where they had behaved with barbarity to
 some English prisoners among the rest two wounded
 officers, whom they seized returning from Arcot to Ma-
 dras, and threatened to expose on the rampart, if the
 English attacked them. After these important transac-
 tions, Clive returned to Fort St. David about the end of
 December. The enemy no sooner found that he was out
 of the field than they re-assembled, and marched to ravage
 the Company's territory. Reinforced by some troops
 which had arrived from Bengal, he went out to meet them
 in the end of February. They abandoned their camp upon
 his approach; but with intent to surprise Arcot, from
 which the principal part of the garrison had marched to
 the reinforcement of Clive. They expected the gates to
 be opened by two officers of the English Sepoys, whom
 they had corrupted; but the plot being discovered, and
 their signals not answered, they did not venture to make
 an attack, and suddenly withdrew. Though informed of
 their retreat, Clive was still hastening his march to Arcot,
 when at sunset his van was unexpectedly fired upon by
 the enemy's artillery; and a hot engagement ensued. The
 superior force of the enemy afforded them great advan-
 tages, and seemed likely to decide the contest, unless by

some expedient their cannon could be seized At ten at BOOK IV night Clive detached a party, who, favoured by the dark- CHAP II ness, came upon it unexpectedly in the rear , defeated the troops who were placed for its defence , and succeeded completely in that important enterprise After this disaster, the enemy dispersed , and before Clive could undertake any new exploit, he was ordered to the presidency , where it was determined to send him, with all the troops under his command, to Trichinopoly It was fortunate that the enemy, dispirited by the last, in addition to so many former disappointments and defeats, disbanded themselves at the same moment , the country troops departing to their homes, and the French being recalled to Pondicherry

1752

While these active operations were performing in the province of Arcot, Mohammed Ali, though he appeared to have little to fear from the attacks of the French upon Trichinopoly, began to have everything to dread from the deficiency of his funds The English, whom he engaged to maintain out of his own treasury, were now obliged to be maintained at the cost of the Presidency. His own troops were without pay, and there was no prospect of keeping them long from mutiny or dispersion. He had applied for assistance to the Government of Mysore, a considerable Hindu kingdom, which had risen out of the wreck of the empire of Beejanugger, and viewed with dread the elevation of Chunda Saheb, who had formerly armed at its subjugation Mohammed Ali renewed his importunities , and, by promising to the Mysoreans whatever they chose to ask, prevailed upon them to march to his assistance They arrived at Trichinopoly about the middle of February, 20,000 strong, including 6000 Mah-rattas, who had entered into their pay, and of whom a part were the same with those who had assisted Clive after the siege of Arcot Their arrival determined the King of Tanjore, who till then had remained neutral, to send 5000 men A few days after Clive was recalled to Fort St David, he was again prepared to take the field , but on the 26th of March, Major Lawrence returned from England, and put himself at the head of the reinforcement which consisted of 400 Europeans and 1100 Sepoys, with eight field-pieces, and a large quantity of military stores

BOOK IV Both parties had their eyes fixed upon the reinforcement, **CHAPTER II** and Dupleix sent repeated orders that it might be intercepted at all events. The efforts, however, of the enemy **1757.** proved unavailing and Lawrence in safety joined the camp.

It was now determined to attack the enemy in their camp. This attack the French had not the resolution, or the means to withstand, and formed the determination of passing over to the island of Seringham. Chunda Sahib, it is said, remonstrated, but without avail. In the hurry of their retreat, the enemy were able to carry over only a part of their baggage, and burned what they were unable to remove of the provisions which they had collected in their magazines.³

As delay was dangerous to the English, from the circumstances of their allies, it was their policy to reduce the enemy to extremities within the shortest possible time. With this view Clive advised them to detach a part of the army to the other side of the Culleroon, for the purpose of intercepting the enemy's supplies. Though there was hazard in this plan; for an enterprising enemy by

Dupleix accuses Law with great violence, for not intercepting the convoy; and the English writers have very readily joined with him. But if the facts asserted by Law are true, it was from want of means, not of spirit or inclination, that he failed. He says, that the whole army even after it was joined by the remains of the detachment sent to Arrac, and by the body under Aslam Khan, did not amount to 14,000; while the enemy were three times the number. That the cavalry of Chunda Sahib, who had long been without pay refused to act; and were joined by several other corps of the same army. That from the importance command of Dupleix to blockade and starve Trichinopoly he had issued his orders much beyond what the smallness of his forces rendered advisable; and was weak at every point. That he made every effort to intercept the convoy at distance, but the cavalry of Chunda Sahib refused to act; and Aslam Khan, after proceeding to support the detachment, failed, on the pretext that there was no further to give him. See the details, as stated by Law *Plans* p 22-24. The English in their reply to Dupleix, defend the conduct of Law. *Microcosm* 1803, p 74.

This movement has been violently condemned, and Dupleix written to in the defect of his scheme; but Major Lawrence (Narrative p 31) says that they (the English officers) reckoned it a prudent measure. In law from the weakness of the French, retreat was unavoidable. It is worth that had they permitted the English to take possession of Seringham, they were taken in Canine fangs. He asserts, also, that they are really bag for want of provisions; and that, between Aslam Khan and Trichinopoly together and the resolution which he adopted, there was no need to accuse. The wise course would have been, no doubt, to clear up Trichinopoly and of this, Law says, he was abundantly aware. Let this be reiterated and prevent commands of Dupleix absolutely failed. In a safe distance of 14 miles to say satisfactory. *Plans* & *Cher Law* p 22-24. Once, yet the enemy burned great store of provisions, when they passed over to the latter; but what Law says, is much more probable—that the army **14** already be treasury to be in want.

attacking one of the divisions, might gain a decisive advantage before the other could arrive, Lawrence accepted the advice, and Clive was detached for the performance of the service. It was executed with his usual activity, spirit, and success. Dupleix made the strongest exertions to reinforce and supply his army, but was baffled in every attempt. D'Auteuil, at the head of a large convoy, was first compelled to suspend his march, was afterwards attacked in the fort to which he had retired, and at last taken prisoner. The enemy were soon in distress for provisions, their camp was cannonaded by the English, the troops of Chunda Saheb left his service, and he himself, looking round for the means of personal safety, chose at last to trust to the generosity of the King of Tanjore, and delivered himself, under the promise of protection, into the hands of the Tanjorine commander. The French soon after capitulated, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

The fate of Chunda Saheb was lamentable. He was immediately put in fetters by the faithless Tanjorine. A dispute, under the power of which of them he should remain, arose between the Mysorean and Mahratta chiefs, the Tanjorine Generals, and Mohammed Ali. To compromise the dispute, Major Lawrence proposed that he should be confined in one of the English forts. The parties separated without coming to an agreement, and the Tanjorine immediately ordered him to be assassinated. Dupleix affirms that he was murdered by the express command of Major Lawrence, which it is difficult to suppose that Dupleix must not have known to be untrue. But it is true, that Lawrence showed an indifference about his fate which is not very easy to be reconciled with either humanity or wisdom. He well knew that his murder was, in the hands of any of them, the probable, in those of some of them, the certain consequence, of their obtaining the charge of his person. He well knew, that if he demanded him with firmness, they would have all consented to his confinement in an English fort.¹ And, if he did not know, it is not the less true, that in the hands of the English he

¹ Orme says it was so proposed by Lawrence, but that the confederates would not assent. At this period, the English were not so well assured of their power as to pretend to dictate to the native princes with whom they co-operated.—W

BOOK IV
CHAP II
1752.

BOOK IV might have become a powerful instrument with which to
CHAP. II. counterwork the machinations of Dupleix. At any rate,

 152. Dupleix, of all men, on this ground, had the least title to
 raise an accusation against the English, since he had re-
 solved to imprison for life his unfortunate ally and to
 reign sole Nabob of the Carnatic himself.¹

The failure of the enemy at Trichinopoly the possession
 of which both parties appear to have valued too high,
 produced in the breasts of the English hopes of undisputed
 superiority and of that tide of riches, which unbounded
 sway in the affairs of the Carnatic promised to their
 deluded imaginations. Major Lawrence was in haste to
 march through the province, investing his triumphant
 Nabob and saw no place, except Gingee, which he ima-
 gined would retard his progress.

He was not a little surprised when the delays of the
 Nabob indicated much less impatience. The Nabob was,
 in fact, engaged in a troublesome dispute. Among the
 inducements which he had employed to gain the assistance
 of the Mysoreans, he had not scrupled to promise the
 possession of Trichinopoly and its dependencies. The
 Mysorean chief now insisted upon performance and the
 Mahratta captain, who eagerly desired an opportunity of
 obtaining Trichinopoly for himself encouraged his pre-
 tensions.

Intelligence of this dispute was a thunderstroke to Law-
 rence. His country had paid dear for Trichinopoly; yet
 now it appeared that it could not be retained, by him for
 whom it was gained, without a flagrant violation of honour
 and faith. The violation of honour and faith the 'valuh,'
 in the Indian manner treated as a matter of entire in-
 significance. The Mysorean could not but know he said,

¹ This is directly affirmed by the French East Ind. Company (*Mémoires* contre Dupleix, p. 10) and established by extracts which they produce from the letters to Dupleix written by his own Agent at the court of the Peshwa. Mr Orme says (1. 232) that the patent of Nizam was actually presented before Chandia Sabeb's death. The truth is, that each of them, Chandia Sabeb and himself, wished to get rid of the other and to be Nabob alone; they were endeavoring by mutual treachery to support each other's designs. It is, at *sic*, and in Appendix, No. vi. for the best details, from the *Mémoires* of Moosajir Jung see Orme 1. 194-212; History and Management 1. 11; French East India Company p. 40-43; *Cantâche War in India*, 16-27; *Memoires pour Dupleix*, p. 71-77; *Mémoires contre Dupleix*, p. 79-81; *French & Chavannes Law*, p. 19-21. Lawrence, p. 31, that they made some attempts to escape of Chandia Sabeb by water but the river was too shallow at the time to float the boat.

that such a promise was never made to be fulfilled, and BOOK IV
doubtless no Indian can believe of any man, that he will CHAP II
keep more of a promise than it is his interest, or than he
is compelled, to keep¹

1752

After some time lost in altercation, the Nabob promised to fulfil his engagement, and deliver up the fort in two months, and with this the Mysorean, finding no more could be obtained, allowed himself for the present to appear satisfied. The English, leaving a garrison in the fort, set forward to establish their Nabob, but the auxiliary troops of Tanjore, and of Tondeman, had marched to their homes, and the Mysoreans and Mahrattas refused to depart from Trichinopoly.

Dupleix was not reduced to despondency, by the stroke which the English imagined had realized their fondest hopes. As it was the character of this man to form schemes, which from their magnitude appeared romantic, so was it his practice to adhere to them with constancy, even when the disasters which he encountered in their execution seemed to counsel nothing but despair. Nor did the resources of his mind fail to second its firmness. He still found means to oppose a nearly equal, in a little time a more than equal, force to his opponents.

It was resolved, and very unwisely, that the first operation of the English should be the reduction of Gingee, garrisoned by the French, and the only place in the province expected to yield a serious resistance. Major Lawrence condemned this plan of operations, and recommended the previous recovery of the province, and the collection of the rents, but by the influence of Mr Sanders, the President, his opinion was over-ruled.² Dupleix despatched a force for the purpose of seizing the passes of the mountains by which Gingee is surrounded, and of intercepting the English convoys. The detachment of the English army, which had arrived at Gingee, marched to dislodge them, but, instead of succeeding in their object, sustained a defeat.

The French, elevated by this advantage, reinforced their victorious party with as many troops as they found it pos-

¹ Colonel Wills is very severe on the treachery of the Nabob, and on the English for abetting it. Historical Sketches, ut supra, p 285—291

² Lawrence's Narrative, p 42

BOOK IV able to send into the field. This army by way of triumph,
 CHAP. II. marched close to the very bounds of Fort St. David. A
 company of Swiss, in the English service, were sent on
 1752. this emergency from Madras to Fort St. David, in boats,
 contrary to the advice of Lawrence, who entreated they
 might be sent in a ship of force; and Dupleix, unrestrained
 by the vain forms of a treaty of peace subsisting be-
 tween England and France, while both parties were vio-
 lating the substance of it every day took them prisoners
 of war by a ship from Pondicherry road. Lawrence hast-
 ened toward the enemy. His force consisted of 400
 Europeans, 1700 Sepoys, 4000 troops belonging to the
 Nabob, and nine pieces of cannon. The French army
 consisted of 400 Europeans, 1500 Sepoys, and 500 horse;
 who declined a battle, till Lawrence by a feigned retreat,
 inspired them with confidence. The action, which took
 place near Bahoor two miles from Fort St. David was
 decidedly in favour of the English; but would have been
 far more destructive to the French had the Nabob's cavalry
 done their duty who, instead of charging the routed foe
 betook themselves to the more agreeable operation of
 plundering their camp. After this reasonable victory
 Captain Clive was employed, with a small detachment, to
 reduce the two forts, called Corelong and Chingliput,
 which he executed with his usual vigour and address
 and then returned to Europe for his health. About the
 same time the monsoon compelled the army to withdraw
 from the field.

During these transactions, Nunjraj, the Mysorean General, was not idle before Trichinopoly. He made several attempts to get into the fort by surprise a well as to corrupt the troops and his effort held Captain Dalton, commanding the English garrison, perpetually on the watch. The views of that chief were now also directed toward the French and so much progress had been made in the adjustment of terms, that a body of 3000 Mahrattas were actually on their march to join the enemy when the victory at Bahoor produced a revolution in their minds and they joined the English, as if they had marched from Trichinopoly with that express design. During the inter-
 val of winter-quarters, the negotiations with the Free
 were completed, and the Mahrattas, at an early period,

marched to Pondicherry, while the Mysoreans, to give BOOK IV themselves all possible chances, remained before Trichinopoly, as still allies of the English, but they declared themselves, before the armies resumed their operations, and attacked an advanced post of Captain Dalton's, defended by sixty Europeans and some Sepoys, whom they destroyed to a man

CHAP II

1752

Before these designs of the Mysorean and Mahratta chiefs were brought to maturity, Major Lawrence had given his advice to seize them, in one of their conferences with Captain Dalton¹. If there was any confidence, during negotiation, reposed in the English by the Indians, beyond what they reposed in one another, a confidence of which the loss would have been risked by such a blow, we are not informed, the danger which might have been averted by securing the persons of those enemies, was of considerable amount.

Dupleix, though so eminently successful in adding to the number of combatants on his side, was reduced to the greatest extremity for pecuniary supplies. The French East India Company were much poorer than even the English, the resources which they furnished from Europe were proportionally feeble, and though perfectly willing to share with Dupleix in the hopes of conquest, when enjoyment was speedily promised, their impatience for gain made them soon tired of the war, and they were now importunately urging Dupleix to find the means of concluding a peace. Under these difficulties Dupleix had employed his own fortune, and his own credit, in answering the demands of the war, and, as a last resource, he now turned his thoughts to Mortiz Ali, the Governor of Velore. He held up to him the prospect of even the Nabobship itself, in hopes of drawing from him the riches which he was reputed to possess. Mortiz Ali repaired to Pondicherry, and even advanced a considerable sum, but finding

¹ In justice to Major Lawrence, it must be remarked that this advice was given only upon the detection of a plot, set on foot by the Mysorean general, to assassinate Captain Dalton, and surprise Trichinopoly, there being no open rupture yet even with Mohammed Ali, much less with the English. "It was on the discovery of this," says the Major, "that I proposed Dalton should seize on the Mysorean and Morarow, which he might easily have done by a surprise, as he often had conferences with them, and I must own I thought, in justice, it would have been right to have done it but the Presidency were of another opinion" Lawrence's Narrative, p 39 —W

BOOK IV that much more was expected, he broke off the negotiation,
CHAP. II. and retired to his fort.

1752.

The contending parties looked forward with altered prospects to the next campaign. By the co-operation of the Mysoreans, and the junction of the Mahrattas, the latter of whom, from the abilities of their leader and their long experience of European warfare, were no contemptible allies, the French had greatly the advantage in numerical force. In the capacity however of their officers, and in the quality of their European troops, they soon felt a remarkable inferiority. Lawrence, without being a man of talents, was an active and clear headed soldier and the troops whom he commanded, both officers and men, appeared, by a happy contingency to combine in their little body all the virtues of a British army. The European troops of the enemy on the other hand, were the very refuse of the French population and Lawrence himself, candidly confesses that their officers were frequently seen, in the hour of action, making the greatest efforts, and without effect, to retain them in their ranks. Among their commanders, not a man showed any talents; and Dupleix with great bitterness complains, that, with the exception of Bussy he never had an officer on whose ability he could place the smallest reliance.¹

¹ In his letter to the French minister dated 16th October 1752, he says the recruits whom the Company sent him were, *ordurie, décrétales, et lâches*. He says, *L'example que nos généraux d'Angleterre en a donné est que des troupes égyptiennes arrivent de l'étranger la Compagnie à avoir la même attention dans le choix.* Il adds, *Je ne sais que penser de celui qui est chargé des recrues, mais je crois qu'il y emploie pas la sérénité que la Compagnie fait pour chaque homme, ce n'est sans doute pas votre intention si le révise mais il a au moins pas moins vrai que tout ce qui sera partout, soit q. les hommes de la plus vile canaille — Permettez moi, monsieur de vous rappeler de donner à ce sujet les ordres les plus précis : il gâture tel y est l'intérêt de ce peuple vos paroles plus que suffisant pour assurer toute votre sécurité. Je vous rappelle que les hommes propres qui se trouvent sur l'ordre de ces malheureuses troupes ; l'Angleterre en fait de guerre, mais q. il a le que trop d'excuses de les appeler les Mahrattas et les Indiens commencent à perdre la haute tête qu'ils veulent conquis de nous, et que cette tête se rebelle contre eux à leur tête ; ce qui va être crié à ce sujet. Même pour l'Angleterre, prouve Justific. Lett. de M. Dupleix, à M. de Machault, p. 10. In the same letter he says, *Peter les officiers il y en a peu, ou pour mieux dire pas de tout qui sait en état de commander ; la bravoure ne leur manque pas mais les talens n'y répondent pas ; dans le nombre rauquel de ces officiers il faudra défaillir la plupart n'ayant que des talens, sans la moindre volonté d'obéir à le soldat en temps et heurest avec juste raison.* R. & P. 21 April 1752 is the same letter of the services of Bussy being with Bellier de Joux, he says, " Si l'on voit ce qu'il a fermé ici, je vous proteste sincèrement que toutes le affaires de cette partie servent terriblement. Il y a plus de deux ans " Ibid. p. 17 " que va être très amply bousé. Le bous va de la compagnie de M. d'Al. object, without any such important auxiliary that the service of *man like Bussy in the Carnatic*, will soon have placed him at the head.*

Early in January the two armies again took the field BOOK IV
the French, consisting of 500 European infantry and sixty CHAP II
horse, 2000 Sepoys, and 4000 Mahrattas, commanded by 1753
Morari Row The English consisted of 700 European in-
fantry, 2000 Sepoys, and 1500 horse belonging to the
Nabob The French, to avail themselves of their su-
periority in cavalry, avoided an action, and employed them-
selves in making war upon the English convoys This
they did, with so much effect, that Major Lawrence was
repeatedly obliged to escort his stores and provisions with
his whole army from Fort St David. In this manner the
time was consumed till the 20th of April, when an express
arrived from Captain Dalton, that he had only three weeks'
provisions remaining in the fort

When the English, after the capitulation of the French
at Seringham, marched from Trichinopoly, and left Captain
Dalton Commandant of the English garrison, the brother of
the Nabob was at the same time appointed Governor of
the town By an unhappy oversight the magazines were
left under direction of the Mohammedan Governor, and
Captain Dalton satisfied himself with asking, from time
to time, in what condition they remained. When the
Mysoreans, however, had shut him up in his fort, and,
scouring the adjacent country with their cavalry, had
prevented for some time the arrival of supplies, it occurred
to him, rather too late, that he had better see with his own
eyes on what he had to depend. His ally, he found, had
been selling the provisions at an enormous price to the
people of the town, and he was left in that alarming con-
dition, of which he hastened to make report to Major
Lawrence

Only one resolution was left to the English commander,
that of marching directly to the support of Trichinopoly
His army suffered greatly on the march, both by desertion
and sickness, and, upon his arrival at the place, he found
that all the force he could muster for offensive operations,
after leaving the proportion necessary for the duties of the
garrison, consisted of 500 Europeans, and 2000 Sepoys
The Nabob had 3000 horse, but they were badly paid, and
executed their duty with proportional neglect and disobe-
dience The French followed with 200 Europeans and 500
Sepoys, to the support of the Mysoreans, and Trichinopoly

BOOK IV became once more the seat of a tedious and harassing
war in warfare.

It deserves remark, that Major Lawrence, who had
1751 recommended the seizure of the Mysorean and Mahratta
chiefs, uniformly disapproved of the attempt to retain
Trichinopoly after the promise to give it up.¹ It is
equally worthy of remark, that the delicacy of the Pre-
sidency withheld their hands from the persons of the
hostile chiefs; but easily endured the violation of the
engagement respecting Trichinopoly. Delicacy would have
been less violated in the one instance, by following the
advice of Lawrence, and prudence would have been more
consulted by following it in both. The cession of Trichi-
nopoly to the Mysoreans would have enabled the English
to establish their nabob, with little opposition, in the
sovereignty of the Carnatic, and would have saved them
from two years of expensive warfare.

It was on the 6th of May 1753, that Major Lawrence
again arrived at Trichinopoly and from that day to the
11th of October 1754, the most active operations were
carried on. Neither the French, with their allies, were
sufficiently powerful to reduce Trichinopoly, nor had the
English sufficient force to compel them to raise the siege.
The two parties, therefore, bent their endeavours; the
English, to supply the garrison with a sufficient quantity
of food, to enable them to prosecute their objects in
another quarter; the French, by cutting off the supplies,
to compel the garrison to surrender. On both sides the
greatest exertions were made; severe conflicts were fre-
quently sustained, in some of which decisive advantages,
at one time on one side at another on the other were on
the point of being gained: and never did English troops
display more gallantry and good conduct, than in defence
of the unimportant city of Trichinopoly. More than a
year had been spent and neither of the contending
parties seemed nearer their object, when a new scene was
introduced.²

¹ This fact is stated on the satisfactory authority of Col. W.C. L. He had an opportunity of perusing the correspondence of Lawrence with the Presidency Historical Archives, *as supra*, p. 312.

² For this war Lawrence's Narrative, in Cambridge War, p. 24—31; *PrESA*, L 313—317, 323—327, 327—331; *Mys. year 1754*, p. 71—111; *W.C.A.*, vi. *Arms*, p. 23—310 yield the most important materials.

The objects, which fired the ambition of the European BOOK IV
Governors in India, were too distant to warm the imaginations of the Directors and Proprietors of the French and English Companies in Europe, and to them the burden of the war had become exceedingly hateful. Aware of the passion for peace which now animated his employers, and of the opinion disseminated in Europe of his ambitious and warlike views, Dupleix had opened a negotiation with Saunders, the Governor of Madras, in January, 1754. The real point in dispute was whether or not Mohammed Ali should be acknowledged Nabob of the Carnatic, the English contending that he should be recognised by the French, the French contending that he should be given up by the English. The parties were far from being disposed, on either side, to concede the point, and the state of circumstances was little calculated to facilitate a compromise. The negotiation turned, therefore, on matters of form, and never, surely, did negotiation find more ridiculous matters of form on which to employ itself. In a country in which all questions of dominion are determined by the sword, in a question which, without any consideration of right, they themselves had, during four years, been labouring to decide by the sword, they affected to sit down gravely to a comparison of pretended titles and grants. The authority to which both parties appealed was that of the Mogul, though the Mogul himself, in the district in question, was a usurper, and that of a very recent date, though the power, too, of the Mogul was such, that he had no more authority in the Deccan than he had at Rome. The authority on which the government of the Carnatic immediately depended was that of the Subahdar of the Deccan, and the Subahdar of the Deccan was Salabut Jung, the friend of the French so far, in point of title, they had the undoubted advantage. The patents, however, which Dupleix had received from Salabut Jung, and which placed the nabobship of the Carnatic entirely at his disposal, he asserted to have been confirmed by the Mogul. The English, on their side, affirmed that they had a patent constituting Mohammed Ali Nabob of the Carnatic, and they called upon the French to produce their documents. The French did exhibit some papers, which the English, and probably with truth, asserted to be forged. The English

BOOK IV were expelled from Bengal and the influence of Dupleix was paramount at the court of the Subahdar had Du
CHAR II. pleix remained at the head of French affairs in India, the

1751. schemes of that enterprising governor to render himself master of the Carnatic, and the Subahdar master of Bengal, would have stood a fair chance of complete accomplishment.

On the second of August, 1754, M. Godheu appointed commissary to negotiate a peace with the English, and vested with authority to supersede Dupleix in the government of all the French possessions in India, arrived at Pondicherry. Dupleix affirms, that in the negotiations at London, for the sake of removing all local prejudices and views, it had been established that the governors in India on both sides should be removed; and commissioners, free from all bias, should be sent from England to terminate the costly disputes.¹ If this was a condition really made, the French, it would appear consented to a departure from it, as they raised no complaint against Mr Saunders, who continued the President of Madras. The English, in this manner obtained the important advantage of having the negotiation conducted on their side by a person conversant with the affairs and interests of the two nations in India, while it was conducted, on the part of their antagonists, by a man to whom they were in a great measure unknown.

Godheu lost no time in taking upon himself the exercise of his authority and in commencing his negotiations with Saunders. The strong desire of his employers for peace appears to have been the predominating consideration in his mind; and he manifested, from the beginning, a disposition to concede, of which the English made ample advantage. On the 11th of October a suspension of arms was established for three months; and on the 6th of December a provisional treaty to be confirmed or altered in Europe was signed at Pondicherry. By this treaty everything for which they had been contending was gained by the English; every advantage of which they had come into possession was given up by the French. By the all

¹ M/m poor Dupleix, p. 82. A bold assertion (made before persons highly competent to contradict it, and for which an appeal is made to the Journal of Dupleix) is not denied in the Answer of the Company to the Minutes of Dupleix, it is entitled to credit.

pulation to withdraw effectually from interference in the BOOK IV affairs of the native princes, Mohammed Ali was left, by CHAP II. the fact, Nabob of the Carnatic or Arcot And by the —————— stipulation to arrange the territorial possessions of the two nations on the principle of equality, the important acquisition of the four Circars was resigned.¹ Till the decision of the two Companies in Europe should be given, the contracting parties were to abstain from hostilities, direct or indirect, and their possessions to remain as they were

1754

That the severe strictures which Dupleix made upon his treaty were in some degree overcharged, is not to be denied. There is no reason to believe him, when he asserts that Trichinopoly was on the point of surrendering for want of supplies, for, at the time of the suspension of arms, the relative advantages of the contending parties appear to have been nearly the same as they had been twelve months before. It is equally impossible to believe, that the English writers affirm, that the advantages of the English were now so great as to make it politic on the part of the French to conclude the treaty, unfavourable as it was. Admiral Watson had indeed arrived with a fleet, consisting of three ships and a sloop, having on board a king's regiment of 700 men, with forty artillerymen, and 200 recruits. But 1500 European troops had arrived with Godheu on the part of the French,² and Dupleix boasts, with some reason, that he could have added to these the Mahrattas, the Mysoreans, and, on certain conditions, the King of Tanjore.³ Bussy, too, had improved with so much ability his situation with Salabut

¹ Col Wilks (p 345) must have read the treaty very carelessly, to imagine that "the substantial Moorish government and dignity of the extensive and valuable provinces of the Northern Circars were not noticed in the treaty," when the very first article of the treaty says, "The two Companies, English and French, shall renounce for ever all Moorish government and dignity, and shall never interfere in any differences that arise between the princes of the country." Mr Orme, too (so easily is the judgment warped of the best of men when their passions are engaged), imagined it would have been no infringement of the treaty, to assist the Mahrattas with English troops from Bombay, for the purpose of compelling Salabut Jung to dismiss Bussy and the French, and deprive them of the Northern Circars. Orme, i 406

² This is the number stated by Lawrence, Narrative, p 95, Orme, i 371, calls it 1200, Godheu, in his letter to Dupleix, received two days before his landing calls it 2000 (*Mém pour Dupleix*, p 101). And Dupleix himself asserts (*Ib'd* p 111), that by the troops newly arrived his force was rendered superior to that of the English

³ *Mémoire pour Dupleix*, p 111

BOOK IV Jung that he ruled in a great measure the councils of the
CHAPTER II Subahdar of the Deccan.

1754 After displaying, in the most brilliant manner the extraordinary superiority of European soldiers, in the subjugation of the Patan rebels, he compelled Salabat Jung to raise the son of Moazzaffer Jung, the late Subahdar and friend of the French, to the government, originally enjoyed by that unfortunate prince of the strong-hold of Adoni and its territory augmented by the possessions of two of the Patan nobles, by whose treachery the father was slain. "An example of generosity" says Mr Orme, "which, if true, could not fail to raise admiration in a country where the merits of the father are no seldom of advantage to the distresses of the son."¹

The settlement of the dominions of Salabat Jung was formidably opposed by the Mahrattas, who, in the weakness which ensued upon the death of Vizam al Mulk, were actively employed in adding to their conquests as much as possible of the Subah of the Deccan. A Mahratta general, named Dalajeo Row had opposed himself at the head of 25,000 horse, to the march of the Subahdar between the Kistnah and Golconda, but, by negotiation and a suitable present, was induced to withdraw. Within a few months he appeared again, with a force which would have enabled him to gain important advantages, had not the talents of Buay and the execution of European firearms, which astonished the Indians, decided in a variety of engagements the fortune of the day. Danger came not from one quarter alone. Ghaze al din Khan, the eldest son of Vizam al Mulk, destined by his father to maintain the interests of his family at the court of the Mogul, had apparently acquiesced in the accession of his second brother to the government of the Deccan, to which, as to a destined event, he had been accustomed to look. On the death, however of Hazir Jung as he had become very uneasy in his situation at court, he solicited, as the eldest son and successor of Vizam al Mulk, the appointment of Subahdar of the Deccan. The warrant of the Emperor which was now a mere form without power was easily obtained and Ghaze al din arrived at Turunabad in the beginning of October 1754, at the head, it is said, of

¹ Orme I. 212.

150,000 men, of whom a large body were Mahrattas, com- BOOK IV
 manded by Holkar Malhar Rao At the same time Balajee CHAP II
 Row, and another Mahratta general, named Ragojee Bonsla,
 in concert, it is said, with Ghazee ad din Khan, entered
 the province of Golconda with 100,000 horse To meet
 these formidable armies, Salabut Jung and Bussy took the
 field with very unequal numbers, when Ghazee ad din
 Khan suddenly died. He was an old man, worn out by
 the pleasures of the harem, and his sudden death was by
 no means a surprising event, but, as it was singularly
 opportune for Salabut Jung, it was ascribed to poison, said
 to be administered, at his instigation, by the mother of
 the deceased, and, as the event was favourable to the
 French, the story of its odious cause has been adopted,
 with patriotic credulity, by the English historians.¹ The
 Mahratta generals still continued the war, but were in
 every encounter repulsed with so much slaughter by the
 French, that they soon became desirous of peace, and
 Salabut Jung was happy to purchase their retreat by the
 cession of some districts to Balajee Row, in the neighbour-hood of Boorhanpoore, and to Ragojee Bonsla, in the
 neighbourhood of Berar, where that Mahratta chief had
 acquired for himself an extensive dominion. By the ser-
 vices which, in all these dangers, Bussy had rendered to
 the cause of Salabut Jung,² whom he alone preserved upon
 the throne, his influence with that prince had risen to the
 greatest height and though the envy and jealousy of the
 ministers, and the weak character of the Subahdar, ex-
 posed his power to perpetual jeopardy, and on one occa-
 sion, when he was absent for the recovery of his health,
 had almost destroyed it, the prudence and dexterity of
 that able leader enabled him to triumph over all opposi-
 tion In the latter end of 1753, he obtained for his country

¹ The author of the Seer Mutakhareen, whom, as better informed, I follow in all affairs relating at this period to the Court of Delhi, says (iii 19), that he died suddenly, without any mention of poison The story of the poison is indeed, presented in a note by the translator, who does not, however, impute the fact to the mother of Ghazee ad Din, but to the ladies of his harem in general

² The oriental historian describes the efficacy of the French operations in battle in such expressions as these "At which time the French, with their quick musketry and their expeditious artillery, drew smoke from the Mahratta breasts" "they lost a vast number of men, whom the French consumed in shoals at the fire altars of their artillery" Seer Mutakhareen, ii 118

BOOK IV the four important provinces of Mustaphanagar Ellore
 char II Rajamundry and Chicaoole, called the Northern Circars
 1751 "which made the French, says Mr Orme, "masters of
 the sea-coast of Coromandel and Orissa, in an uninterrupted
 line of 600 miles from Madapilly to the Pagoda of Jager-
 naut "¹ and "which, says Colonel Wilks, "not only
 afforded the requisite pecuniary resources, but furnished
 the convenient means of receiving reinforcements of men
 and military stores from Pondicherry and Mauritius; and
 thus enabled Bussy to extend his political views to the
 indirect or absolute empire of the Deccan and the south."²
 All these brilliant advantages were now cordially resigned
 by M. Godheu and it will certainly be allowed that few
 nations have ever made, to the loss of peace, sacrifices
 relatively more important

"Dupleix," says Mr Orme, whose concluding strictures upon his enemy are equally honourable to the writer and the subject, departed on his voyage to Europe on the 14th of October having first delivered his accounts with the French Company to M. Godheu, by which it appeared that he had disbursed on their account near three millions of rupees more than he had received during the course of the war. A great part of this sum was furnished out of his own estate, and the rest from moneys which he borrowed at interest, from the French inhabitants at Pondicherry upon bonds given in his own name. M. Godheu referred the discussion of these accounts to the Directors of the Company in France, who, pretending that M. Dupleix had made these expences without sufficient authority refused to pay any part of the large balance he asserted to be due to him; upon which he commenced a law-suit against the Company but the ministry interfered and put a stop to the proceedings by the king's authority without entering into any discussion of M. Dupleix's claims, or taking any measures to satisfy them. However they gave him letters of protection to secure him from being prosecuted by any of his creditors. So that his fortune was left much less than that which he was possessed of before he entered upon the government of Pondicherry in 1742. His conduct certainly merited a very different reward from his nation, which never had a subject so desirous

¹ Orme 1. 224.

² Wilks, 1. 197. p. 22.

and capable of extending its reputation and power in the BOOK IV East Indies , had he been supplied with the forces he CHAP II desired immediately after the death of Anwāl-ad-din ————— Khan, or had he afterwards been supported from France 1754 in the manner necessary to carry on the extensive projects he had formed, there is no doubt but that he would have placed Chunda Saheb in the Nabobship of the Carnatic, given law to the Subah of the Deccan, and perhaps to the throne of Delhi itself, and have established a sovereignty over many of the most valuable provinces of the empire, armed with which power he would easily have reduced all the other European settlements to such restrictions as he might think proper to impose When we consider that he formed this plan of conquest and dominion at a time when all other Europeans entertained the highest opinion of the strength of the Mogul government, suffering tamely the insolence of its meanest officers, rather than venture to make resistance against a power which they chimerically imagined to be capable of overwhelming them in an instant, we cannot refrain from acknowledging and admiring the sagacity of his genius, which first discovered and despised this illusion ”¹

In a short time after the conclusion of this treaty, both Saunders and Godheu took their departure for Europe , pleasing themselves with the consideration that, by means of their exertions, the blessings of peace between the two nations in India were now permanently bestowed Never was expectation more completely deceived. Their treaty procured not so much as a moment's repose The English proceeded to reduce to the obedience of their Nabob the districts of Madura and Tinivelly The French exclaimed against these transactions, as an infringement of the treaty with Godheu , but finding their remonstrances without avail, they followed the English example, and sent a body of troops to reduce to their obedience the petty sovereignty of Terriore

Madura was a small kingdom, bordering on Trichinopoly towards the south , and Tinivelly was a kingdom of similar extent, reaching from the southern extremity of Madura

¹ Orme, i 377 Voltaire says (*Précis du Siècle de Louis XIV ch xxxix*), Duplex fut réduit à disputer à Paris les tristes restes de sa fortune contre la Compagnie des Indes, et à solliciter des audiences dans l'anti-chambre de ses juges Il en mourut bientôt de chagrin

BOOK IV to Cape Comorin. These countries had acknowledged the **CHAP. II.** supremacy of the Mogul government of the Deccan, and had paid tribute through the Nabob of Arcot. When **1754.** Chunda Sahib was master of Trichinopoly he had set up his own brother as Governor of Madura but during the disturbances which followed, a soldier of fortune, named Aulum Khan, obtained possession of the city and government. When Aulum Khan marched to the assistance of Chunda Sahib at Trichinopoly where he lost his life, he left four Patan chiefs to conduct his government, who acted as independent princes, notwithstanding the pretensions of Mohammed Ali, as Nabob of Arcot. To compromise the dispute about Trichinopoly Mohammed Ali had offered to resign Madura to the Mysoreans. And upon his liberation from the terror of the French army, by the treaty of Godha, he prevailed upon the English to afford him a body of troops to collect, as he hoped, and as the English believed, a large arrear of tribute from the southern dependencies of his nabobship.

The troops proceeded to the city of Madura, which they took. The Polygars, as they are called—the lords, or petty sovereigns of the several districts—overawed by the terror of European arms, offered their submission, and promised to discharge the demanded arrears—but for the present had little or nothing which they were able to pay. Instead of the quantity of treasure which the Nabob and the English expected to receive, the money collected sufficed not to defray the expense of the expedition. The disappointment and ill-humour were consequently great. The conduct of the English officer who commanded became the subject of blame. He formed a connexion, which promised to be of considerable importance with Marwar a district, governed by two Polygars, which extended along the coast on the eastern side of Madura, from the kingdom of Tanjore till it joined Tinivelly—but this connexion gave infinite trouble to the Polygar Tondeman, and the Raja of Tanjore in satisfaction to whom it was renounced. With Naphuz Khan the brother of the Nabob, who attended the expedition, as future governor of the country the officer formed an agreement, at a rent which was afterwards condoned, as not one half of the requisite amount; and the English detachment, upon its return, was impudently espied in a narrow pass where it suffered severely by the fury of

the country From all these causes, the existing displeasure found an object and a victim, in the unlucky officer, who was tried, and dismissed from the Company's service¹

1755

About the same time with these transactions in Madura, Salabut Jung, accompanied by Bussy and the French troops, marched against the kingdom of Mysore, to extort arrears of tribute, said to be due from it, as a dependency of the Subah of the Deccan. Upon this emergency, the Mysorean army before Trichinopoly (the Mysoreans had refused to abandon their pretensions upon Trichinopoly, when the treaty was concluded between the English and French,) was recalled. As the Mysoreans were threatened at the same time by an army of Mahrattas under Balajee Row, they were happy to acquire the protection of Salabut Jung, by acknowledging his authority, and paying as large a sum as it was possible for them to raise

By the departure of the Mysoreans from Trichinopoly, Mohammed Ali was left without an ostensible opponent in the Carnatic and he was vested, as pompously as circumstances would permit, with the ensigns of his office and dignity, at Arcot It still remained to compel the Zemindars or Polygars, and other Governors of forts and districts, to yield him a revenue The English, after stipulating to receive one half of all the moneys collected, sent with him a large detachment to enforce a tribute from the northern chiefs, who recognised the authority of the Nabob, and produced a portion of the demanded sums The reputed riches of Mortiz Ali, the Governor of Velore, rendered his subjugation the main object of desire The English detachment was strongly reinforced, and encamped with the Nabob within cannon-shot of the fort Mortiz Ali applied to the French M Deleyrit, who was Governor of Pondicherry, informed the English Presidency, that he regarded their proceedings at Velore as a violation of the treaty, and that he should commence hostilities, if their troops were not immediately withdrawn The English rulers, soon aware that Velore could not be easily taken, and unwilling to put to proof the threat of Deleyrit, who had made 700 Europeans and 2000 Sepoys take the field, recalled the army to Madras An attempt was made to

¹ Orme, i 380—387, Cambridge's War in India, p 109—113

BOOK IV obtain a contribution for the Company from Mortiz Ali,
CHAR II. but the negotiation terminated without any effect.¹

1751. Meanwhile the Polygars of Madura and Tinivelly who had made an ostensible submission during the presence of the English troops, were affording dangerous employment to the Governor Maphuz Khan. A confederacy was formed, which it soon appeared that the Governor was altogether unable to withstand. The English sent a large body of Sepoys; but in spite of this support, the refractory chiefs continued unsubdued—the country was thrown into confusion by a petty warfare which extended itself into every corner of the provinces, and no tribute could be raised. Highly dissatisfied with the unproductive state of a country which they had fondly believed to be the richest dependency of the Carnatic Nabob, the English determined to manage it themselves and Maphuz Khan was ordered to return to Trichinopoly. But the chief entered immediately into confederacy with the Polygars; set himself in opposition to the English obtained possession of the town and fort of Madura by a stratagem and, with much uneasiness to the English, the disturbances in Madura and Tinivelly were prolonged for several years.²

During these transactions of the English, not very consistent with their agreement not to interfere in the disputes of the native princes, or add to their territory in India, the French were restrained from that active opposition which, otherwise, it is probable they would have raised, by the dangerous situation of their affairs under the government of the Subahdar.

The enemies of Bussy in the service and in the confidence of Salabut Jung, were both numerous and powerful; and exerted themselves in concert and with eagerness, to change the confidence and attachment of their feeble-minded master into distrust and hatred. It was now about two years and a half since the grant of the northern Circars; when certain favourable circumstances³

¹ Orme I. 344 359 419; Cambridge p. 111 117 119.

² Orme I. 295, 430; Cambridge p. 174.

It is not extraordinary that there should have been a strong party in the court of the Nizam opposed to the French, who were really to avail themselves of every opportunity to injure the cause of Salabut Jung against Jumla. Various circumstances confirm the statement of Orme, that Shahzada Khan, the wazir of Hyderabad, was at their head; the circumstance of which he made present, as might have been related, as it is fully detailed by Orme. The Raja had last

enabled them to make so deep an impression on the mind BOOK IV.
of this prince, that the French troops were ordered to quit CHAP II
his territories without delay Bussy, in expectation, pro-
bably, that the necessities of the Subahdar would speedily
make him eager to retract his command, showed no hesi-
tation in commencing his march It was continued for
eight days without interruption but his enemies had a
very different intention from that of allowing him to
depart in safety When he approached the city of
Hyderabad, he found his progress impeded by large bodies
of troops, and the road obstructed by all the chiefs of the
neighbouring countries, who had orders} to intercept his
march Upon this he resolved to occupy a post of con-
siderable strength, adjoining the city of Hyderabad, to
defend himself, and try the effect of his arms, and of his
intrigues among the chiefs, whom he well knew, till the
reinforcements which he expected from Pondicherry should
arrive Though surrounded by the whole of the army of
the Subahdar, and so feeble in pecuniary means, that his
Sepoys deserted for want of pay, and he durst not venture
them in sallies, for fear of their joining the enemy, he
found the means of supplying himself fully with provi-
sions, and of resisting every attack, till his succours
arrived , when the Subahdar sent to demand a reconcilia-
tion, and he was restored to a still higher degree' of influ-
ence and authority than he had previously enjoyed

Among the means which had been employed to reconcile
the mind of Salabut Jung to the dismissal of the French,
was the prospect held up to him of replacing them by the
English No sooner, therefore, were the measures against
Bussy devised, than an application was made for a body of
troops to the Presidency of Madras To the Presidency of
Madras, few things could have presented a more dazzling

siege to Savanore, the residence of a disobedient vassal, who was supported in
his resistance by the Mahratta partisan, Morari Rao The government of
Pondicherry was indebted to the latter, who finding himself and his ally hard
pressed, engaged to relinquish his claims upon the French on condition that
Bussy, who was with the Nizam, should negotiate a peace, and the preservation
of the citadel of Savanore The condition was effected, and Shahnawaz Khan
represented to the Nizam what was no more than the truth, that Bussy had
preferred the interests of his countrymen to those of Salabut Jung It was
in resentment of this conduct that the French were dismissed from his
service, upon the strong representation, as is stated by the author of the
life of Shahnawaz Khan, of that nobleman Calcutta Quarterly Magazine,
Dec 1825 —W.

BOOK IV prospect of advantage and in any ordinary situation of their affairs, the requisition of the Subahdar would have met with an eager acceptance. But events had before this time taken place in Bengal, which demanded the utmost exertions of the English from every quarter made them unable to comply with the proposal of the Subahdar and thenceforward rendered Bengal the principal scene of the English adventures in India.¹

CHAPTER III.

Siraj-ud-Daula, Subahdar of Bengal—takes Calcutta—attacked by an army from Madras—dethroned—Meer Jaffier set up in his stead

DURING the latter part of the reign of Aurungzeb, the Subahs of Bengal and Orissa, together with those of Allahabad and Bihar were governed by his grandson Azeem-ooz-Shan, the second son of Shah Aulum, who succeeded to the throne. Azeem-ooz-Shan appointed as his deputy in the provinces of Bengal and Orissa, Jaffier Khan, who had been for some time the dewan, or super intendent of the finances, in Bengal a man of Tartar descent, but a native of Boorhanpore in the Deccan, who had raised himself to eminence in the wars of Aurungzeb. Upon the death of Shah Aulum, and the confusions which ensued, Jaffier Khan remained in possession of his important government, till he was too powerful to be removed. While yet a resident in his native city he had married his daughter and only child to a man of eminence in the same place and of similar origin with himself, by name Shujah Khan. This relative had repaired with him to Bengal and when Jaffier Khan was elevated to the Subahdarry of Bengal and Orissa, Orissa was placed under the government of Shujah Khan, as deputy or nawab of the subahdar.²

¹ OEM. I. 433—434, and II. 103—104; WEL. p. 240—241. It is asserted in many are the account of Derry. Translations on the British revenue, in the paper of Owen Cambridge (War in India, p. 127—128), written after his return, and failure of another trip, see with the all-round and liberal narrative of Orissa and of WELA.

² See Muzaffar, L. 17. 43, 226.

Among the adventurers who had been in the service of BOOK IV
 Azeem Shah, the second son of Aurungzeb, was a Tartar, CHAP III.
 named Mirza Mohammed Upon the death of that prince,
 and the ruin of his party, Mirza Mohammed remained
 without employment, and was overtaken, after some years,
 with great poverty His wife not only belonged to the
 same place from which the family of Shujah Khan was
 derived, but was actually of kin to that new ruler By
 this wife he had two sons the eldest named Hajee
 Ahmed , the youngest, Mirza Mohammed Ali Upon the
 news of the elevation of their kinsman, it was determined,
 in this destitute family, that Mirza Mohammed, with his
 wife, should repair to his capital, in hopes of receiving his
 protection and bounty The disposition of Shujah Khan
 was benevolent and generous He received them with
 favour The success of his father and mother induced
 Mirza Mohammed Ali, the youngest of the two sons, to
 hope for similar advantages With great difficulty his
 poverty allowed him to find the means of performing the
 journey He obtained employment and distinction His
 prospects being now favourable, he sent for his brother
 Hajee Ahmed, and removed the whole of his family to
 Orissa The talents of the two brothers were eminent.
 Hajee Ahmed was insinuating, pliant, discerning, and in
 business equally skilful and assiduous Mirza Mohammed
 Ali to all the address and intelligence of his brother added
 the highest talents for war They soon acquired a com-
 plete ascendancy in the councils of Shujah Khan, and by
 their abilities added greatly to the strength and splendour
 of his administration.

Jaffier Khan died in 1725 , but destined Sereffraz Khan
 his grandson, instead of Shujah Khan, the father of that
 prince, with whom he lived not on friendly terms, to the
 succession. By the address and activity of the two bro-
 thers, the schemes of Jaffier were entirely defeated ,
 patents were procured from Delhi , and Shujah Khan,
 with an army, was in possession of the capital and the
 government before any time was given to think of oppo-
 sition. The province of Bahar was added to the govern-
 ment of Shujah Khan in 1729 , and the younger of the
 two brothers, on whom was bestowed the title of Aliverdi
 Khan, was intrusted with its administration He exerted

BOOK IV himself, with assiduity and skill, to give prosperity to the
 CHAP. III. province, and to acquire strength in expectation of future
 events¹. In 1730, the same year in which Nadir Shah

1733.

ravaged Delhi, Shujah Khan died, and was succeeded by Sereffraz Khan, his son. Sereffraz Khan had been educated a prince; and had the incapacity and the servile subjection to pleasure, which that education usually implies. He hated the brothers and began with disgusting and affronting when he should have either exterminated, or reconciled. The resolution of Aliverdi was soon taken. He employed his influence, which was great, at Delhi, to obtain his nomination to the government of Bengal and the united provinces; and marched with an army to dethrone Sereffraz, who lost his life in the battle. With the exception of the Governor of Orissa, whom he soon reduced, the whole country submitted without opposition. He governed it with unusual humanity and justice; and defended it with splendid ability and unwearied perseverance.

The Mahrattas, who had spread themselves at this time over a great part of the continent of India, seemed resolved upon the conquest of Bengal, the richest portion of the Mogul empire. The dependence of the greatest events upon the slightest causes is often exemplified in Asiatic story. Had Sereffraz Khan remained Subahdar of Bengal, the Mahrattas might have added it, and all the adjoining provinces, to their extensive dominion. The English, and other European factories, might have been expelled. Nothing afterwards remained to check the Mahratta progress. The Mohammedans might have been exterminated; and the government of Brahmins and Kshatriyas might have extended once more from Cabul to Cape Comorin.

Aliverdi was on his return from the expedition against the Governor of Orissa, and had disbanded a great portion of his army in contemplation of tranquillity and enjoyment, when he learned that a large army of Mahrattas had entered through the valleys in the mountains, at eight days' journey west of his capital Moornshedabad. The Mahrattas, besides possessing themselves of handiwork and

¹ Holwell (Introducing Historical Events, L. 78) represents the conduct as highly creditable and judicious, and gives an account of five hundred of human heads which he saw every day to his credit.

² See Malabarana, L. 224-232; Orissa, L. 24-32.

Malwa, had, before this period, overrun and subdued the whole province of Berar, where a general, named Ragojee Bonsla, of the family of Sivajee, had established himself in a widely-extended sovereignty which acknowledged but a nominal subjection to the primitive throne. The dominions of Ragojee Bonsla were separated from Bahar, Bengal, and Orissa, by only a chain of mountains, which it was easy for the Mahrattas to penetrate in many parts. And now it was that the said chief, either urged by the hope of adding the richest part of Hindustan to his empire, or at the instigation, as was alleged, of Nizam al Mulk, sent an army under a Brahmen general to invade Bengal¹. Aliverdi marched against them instantly with the small number of troops which he had about his person, and was hardy enough to venture a battle, but the Afghan troops in his service were discontented with some recent treatment, and were inclined to make their advantage of his necessities. They acted coldly and feebly during the engagement. Aliverdi found it difficult to avoid a total defeat, and remained surrounded on all sides by a numerous and active enemy. He resolved to fight his way back, and though he suffered prodigiously from the sword, from fatigue, and from famine, he effected a glorious retreat, but reached not his capital till a detachment of the enemy had taken and plundered the suburbs².

The Mahrattas, instead of returning to their own country, determined to remain during the period of the rains and collected the revenue of almost the whole of territory south of the Ganges. Aliverdi made the greatest exertions to collect an army, and marching out at the termination of the rains, surprised the Mahrattas in their camp, and put them to flight, pursued them from post

¹ The Mahratta accounts, which appear to be most authentic, refer the invasion of Bengal to a different cause—the invitation of Meer Hubeb, the Dewan of the Governor of Orissa. The Mahrattas, however, were too late in their invasion of the latter province, and therefore turned northwards, penetrating into the districts of Midnapore and Burdwan, in the latter they defeated Aliverdi Khan. They were prevented from following up their success, and marching to Moorschedabad, by the rise of the Ganges, but a party of horse under Meer Hubeb made a predatory incursion to the capital, where he carried off his brother, and plundered the banker Jagat Set of two millions and a half sterling, in Arcot Rupees. Seer Mutakhareen, i 426.—W

² Holwell, who was in the province, and must have had opportunities of learning many of the particulars, gives (Interesting Historical Events, i 118) a detailed account of this retreat, which he celebrates as one of the most brilliant exploits in the annals of warfare.

BOOK IV to post, and at last compelled them to evacuate his dominions.¹

If Aliverdi flattered himself that he was now delivered from a dangerous foe, he knew not the people with whom he had to contend. The Mahrattas appeared the very next year with Ragojee Bonala himself at their head. Another army of Mahrattas, belonging to the government of Satarah, entered the province; but whether with hostile or friendly intentions, is variously asserted. It is not doubtful that, at this time, Aliverdi delivered himself from his enemies by a sum of money upon receipt of which they retired.

After a little time the general of Ragojee again entered by the province of Orissa, whence he advanced towards Bengal. By a train of artful and base negotiation, he was brought to trust himself at a conference in the tent of Aliverdi. He was there assassinated; and his death was the signal of dispersion to his troops.

The next invasion of the Mahrattas was encouraged by the rebellion of one of Aliverdi's principal officers. The good fortune of that chief still seconded his vigour. The formidable rebel was killed in battle, and the Mahrattas were compelled to retire.

The Mahratta pressure, incessantly returning, though frequently repelled, seldom failed, in the long run, to make the opposing body recede. The subjects of Aliverdi were grievously harassed, and the produce of his dominions was greatly impaired by these numerous invasions, and by the military exertions which were necessary to oppose them. In a new incursion, headed by Janojee the son of Ragojee the Mahrattas possessed themselves almost com-

¹ See Metahkuren, I. 407-414; Orissa p. 21. Both Orissa and the author of the *Sher Makt* mention the invasion of Bihar in 1712, but after all it seems to have been only a series of raids; and there were no forces enough to capture Bodhia without probability. Wilson (I. 307; II. External Events, p. 104) says they were induced by the *Guru* of Delhi.

The author of the *Sher Maktakuren*, who had the best opportunities of knowledge, in (I. 430) that the Emperor clattered, as does an account of the project of the *Shah*, the assistance of the provinces of Bengal, of the government of Orissa, against François Furnier; and that he was ready to fulfil this request, that the army of Lalajee Rau came to Bengal. H. 1. 142.

(Orissa p. 37.) That the two armies came to Bengal, and only did not meet the diuk. 16 plander.—M.

The native authority is best satisfied to confound reports respecting the arrival of François Furnier, but there is another and more likely point of view—
I. T. X. and N. 19—W.

pletely of Orissa. The attention of the Subahdar was engaged in another quarter. Discontent again prevailed among his Afghan and Tartar officers, which it required some address to allay. His youngest nephew, who was the most distinguished for ability of all his relations, and whom he had appointed Nabob or Deputy Governor of Bahar, had taken into his pay two Afghan officers, who had retired in discontent from the service of Aliverdi. These leaders murdered their young master, the nephew of the Subahdar, and with a body of Mahrattas, who had entered the province on purpose to join them, and a considerable army of their own countrymen, whom the host of Ahmed Shah Abdallee, then covering the upper provinces of Hindustan, enabled them to collect, erected against Aliverdi the standard of revolt. Never was that governor, or rather king, for it was but a nominal obedience which he now paid to the throne of Delhi, in greater danger. He was obliged to meet the enemy, with a very inferior force, yet he gained a complete victory, and the Afghan lords were killed in the battle. The Mahrattas, however, only retired on the road towards Orissa, without crossing the mountains, and halted at Midnapore. He followed, pursued them into Orissa, with great slaughter, and even recovered the capital Cuttack, but was obliged to leave the province in so defenceless a condition, that the Mahrattas were not long deprived of their former acquisitions.

During the fifteen years of Aliverdi's government or reign, scarcely a year passed free from ruinous invasions of the Mahrattas, though during the infirmities of his latter years he had, by a tributary payment, endeavoured to procure some repose. He died at the age of eighty on the 9th of April, 1756¹. Aliverdi never had a son. He had three daughters, and his brother had three sons². He married his three daughters to his three nephews, all of whom were men of considerable merit. The youngest was slain by the Afghan lords, as already related, and the two elder both died a little before the decease of Aliverdi.

¹ For a minute and very interesting account of the government of Aliverdi, see Seer Mutakhreen, i. 355—681. The narrative of Orme (ii. 28—52), and that of Holwell (Interesting Historical Events, i. 85—176), do not exactly agree either with Gholam Hosein or with one another. Scrafton's account (Reflection, &c.) Holwell says was stolen from him.

² Orme, ii. 34, says that Aliverdi had only one daughter. The author of the Seer Mutakhreen, who was his near relation, says he had three, i. 304.

BOOK IV to post and at last compelled them to evacuate his dominions.¹

If Aliverdi flattered himself that he was now delivered from a dangerous foe, he knew not the people with whom he had to contend. The Mahrattas appeared the very next year with Ragojee Bonala himself at their head. Another army of Mahrattas, belonging to the government of Satarah, entered the province; but whether with hostile or friendly intentions, is variously asserted. It is not doubtful that, at this time, Aliverdi delivered himself from his enemies by a sum of money upon receipt of which they retired.

After a little time the general of Ragojee again entered by the province of Orissa, whence he advanced towards Bengal. By a train of artful and base negotiation, he was brought to trust himself at a conference in the tent of Aliverdi. He was there assassinated and his death was the signal of dispersion to his troops.

The next invasion of the Mahrattas was encouraged by the rebellion of one of Aliverdi's principal officers. The good fortune of that chief still acceded his vigour. The formidable rebel was killed in battle, and the Mahrattas were compelled to retire.

The Mahratta pressure, incessantly returning, though frequently repelled, seldom failed, in the long run, to make the opposing body recede. The subjects of Aliverdi were grievously harassed, and the produce of his dominions was greatly impaired by these numerous invasions, and by the military exactions which were necessary to oppose them. In a new incursion, headed by Janojee, the son of Ragojee, the Mahrattas possessed themselves almost com-

Socr. Mutakherseen, I. 407—428; Orme, II. 33. Both Orme and the author of the Socr. Mutakherseen mention the instigation of Yezern al Mall, but after all it seems to have been only vague conjecture; and there were motives enough to Ragojee Bonala without prompting. Holwell (Interesting Historical Events, I. 103) says they were instigated by the Court of Delhi.

The author of the Socr. Mutakherseen, who had the best opportunities of knowing, says (I. 450), that the Emperor claimed, as due on account of the payment of the chout, the assistance, for the province of Bengal, of the government of Satarah, against Ragojee Bonala; and that it, as it comphense with this request, that the army of Balajee How came into Bengal. Holwell, I. 140, and Orme, II. 37, say that the two armies came in concert, and only differed about the division of the plunder.—M.

The native authority is best entitled to confidence; especially as the Peshwa and Ragojee Bonala had been at variance, and are best imperfectly reconciled. Duff, Mahrattas, II. 10.—W

pletely of Orissa. The attention of the Subahdar was engaged in another quarter. Discontent again prevailed among his Afghan and Tartar officers, which it required some address to allay. His youngest nephew, who was the most distinguished for ability of all his relations, and whom he had appointed Nabob or Deputy Governor of Bahar, had taken into his pay two Afghan officers, who had retired in discontent from the service of Aliverdi. These leaders murdered their young master, the nephew of the Subahdar, and with a body of Mahrattas, who had entered the province on purpose to join them, and a considerable army of their own countrymen, whom the host of Ahmed Shah Abdallee, then covering the upper provinces of Hindustan, enabled them to collect, erected against Aliverdi the standard of revolt. Never was that governor, or rather king, for it was but a nominal obedience which he now paid to the throne of Delhi, in greater danger. He was obliged to meet the enemy, with a very inferior force, yet he gained a complete victory, and the Afghan lords were killed in the battle. The Mahrattas, however, only retired on the road towards Orissa, without crossing the mountains, and halted at Midnapore. He followed, pursued them into Orissa, with great slaughter, and even recovered the capital Cuttack, but was obliged to leave the province in so defenceless a condition, that the Mahrattas were not long deprived of their former acquisitions.

During the fifteen years of Aliverdi's government or reign, scarcely a year passed free from ruinous invasions of the Mahrattas, though during the infirmities of his latter years he had, by a tributary payment, endeavoured to procure some repose. He died at the age of eighty on the 9th of April, 1756¹. Aliverdi never had a son. He had three daughters, and his brother had three sons². He married his three daughters to his three nephews, all of whom were men of considerable merit. The youngest was slain by the Afghan lords, as already related, and the two elder both died a little before the decease of Aliverdi.

¹ For a minute and very interesting account of the government of Aliverdi, see Seer Mutakhareen, i. 355—681. The narrative of Orme (ii. 28—52), and that of Holwell (Interesting Historical Events, i. 85—176), do not exactly agree either with Gholam Hosein or with one another. Sraffton's account (Reflection, &c.) Holwell says was stolen from him.

² Orme, ii. 34, says that Aliverdi had only one daughter. The author of the Seer Mutakhareen, who was his near relation, says he had three, i. 304.

BOOK IV The eldest son of his youngest nephew had from his birth
CHAP. III. been taken under the immediate care of Aliverdi himself
 and was the object of extreme and even doting fondness.

1756. The youth, on whom had been bestowed the title of
 Suraj-ad-dowla, was, upon the death of his uncles, regarded
 as the destined successor of Aliverdi and took the reins
 of government without opposition upon his decease.

Suraj-ad-dowla was educated a prince, and with more
 than even the usual share of princely consideration and
 indulgence. He had, accordingly more than the usual
 share of princely vices. He was ignorant he was volup-
 tuous; on his own pains and pleasures he set a value
 immense, on the pains and pleasures of other men, no
 value at all he was impulsive, irascible, headstrong.

The first act of Suraj-ad-dowla's government was to
 plunder his aunt, the widow of his senior uncle, eldest
 daughter of Aliverdi, reputed immensely rich. To this
 uncle had belonged the government of the province of
 Dacca and orders were despatched to that place, to seize
 the receivers and treasurers of the family. His second
 uncle, who was Nabob of Purneah or Purneah, a province
 on the northern side of the Ganges, died during the last
 illness of Aliverdi, and left the government in the hands
 of his son, whose conduct was imprudent, and his mind
 vicious. Jealousy or, the desire of showing power by
 mischief, excited the young Subahdar to resolve upon the
 destruction of his cousin, the Nabob of Purneah. He had
 advanced as far as Baj Mahl, when he received intelligence
 that one of the principal officers of finance in the service
 of his late uncle at Dacca, had given the slip to his guards
 and found an asylum at Calcutta.

Suraj-ad-dowla had manifested aversion to the English,
 even during the life of his grandfather the appearance of
 protection, therefore, shown to a man who had dis-
 appointed his avarice, and was probably imagined to have
 escaped with a large treasure, kindled his rage the army
 was that moment commanded to halt, and to march back
 towards the capital. A messenger was despatched to Cal-

Orme, II. 47 says that Aliverdi had declared Suraj-ad-dowla his successor
 before the death of his uncle. But the author of the *Sher Mahkbarat*, who
 was in the confidential service of Sadiq Khanet, the surviving nephew, tells us
 that he regarded himself as the successor of Aliverdi till the time of his death;
 which was during the last illness of Aliverdi.

cutta to remonstrate with the governor , but as the messenger entered the town in a sort of disguise, the governor thought proper to treat him as an impostor, and dismissed him from the Company's territory With a view to the war between France and England, the Presidency had begun to improve their fortifications This, too, was matter of displeasure to the Subahdar , and the explanation offered by the English, which intimated that those strangers were audacious enough to bring their hostilities into his dominions, still more inflamed his resentment The factory at Cossimbuzar, near Moorshedabad, was seized , and its chief, Mr. Watts, retained a prisoner The Presidency were now very eager to appease the Subahdar , they offered to submit to any conditions which he pleased to impose , and, trusting to the success of their humility and prayers, neglected too long the means of defence The Subahdar had a wish for a triumph, which he thought might be easily obtained , and he was greedy of riches, with which, in the imagination of the natives, Calcutta was filled

1756

The outposts of Calcutta were attacked on the 18th of June, 1756 There was but little of military skill in the place, and it was badly defended. After a short experiment of resistance, a general consultation decided upon the policy of retreat It was agreed that the women and effects should be put on board the ships in the course of the next day , and that the persons employed in the work of defence should escape in the same manner the following night There was hardly a chance of mishap, for the natives always close their operations with the close of the day , but by some strange inadvertence no orders were published respecting the mode in which the plan was to be carried into effect It was generally known that retreat was intended when the embarkation next morning began, every person imagined he was to shift for himself, and hurried on board by the readiest conveyance During the confusion, an apprehension arose in the ships respecting the security of their situation , and they began to move down the river the danger of being left without the means of retreat now flashed on the minds of the spectators on shore ; and the boats were filled and gone in an instant "Among those who left the factory in this un-

BOOK IV.
CHAP III.

BOOK IV
 CHAP. III.
 1756.

accountable manner were, the Governor Mr Drake, Mr Macket, Captain Commandant Mlinchin, and Captain Grant.¹ Great was the indignation among the people of the fort, upon hearing that they were in this manner abandoned. Mr Holwell, though not the senior servant, was by the general voice called to assume the command and exerted himself with great vigour to preserve order and maintain the defence. Signals were now thrown out, "says Mr Cooke, from every part of the fort, for the ships to come up again to their stations, in hopes they would have reflected (after the first impulse of their panic was over) how cruel as well as well as shameful it was, to leave their countrymen to the mercy of a barbarous enemy and for that reason we made no doubt they would have attempted to cover the retreat of those left behind, now they had secured their own but we deceived ourselves and there never was a single effort made, in the two days the fort held out after this desertion, to send a boat or vessel to bring off any part of the garrison." "Never perhaps," says Mr Orme, was such an opportunity of performing an heroic action so ignominiously neglected for a single sloop, with fifteen brave men on board, might, in spite of all the efforts of the enemy have come up, and anchoring under the fort, have carried away all who suffered in the dungeon. During these trying days Mr Holwell made several efforts, by throwing letters over the wall, to signify his wish to capitulate and it was during a temporary pause in the fire of the garrison, while expecting an answer that the enemy approached the walls in numbers too great to be resisted, and the place was carried by storm. The Subahdar though humanity was

¹ Evidence of John Cooke, Esq. (who at that time was Secretary to the Governor and Council of Calcutta), in the First Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to inquire into the Nature, State, and Condition of the East India Company in 1773.—M.

Mr Holwell adds to these Messrs. Munningham and Frenchhead, members of the Council, who set the example of this disgraceful desertion. They in the Dodaly dropped down the river on the night of the 18th of June. The President, with the rest of the ships, followed on the morning of the 19th. The Fort was taken on the 20th. There can be no doubt that the whole of the garrison might have been carried off by the shipping had there been either conduct or courage amongst the principal servants of the Company. Behn's Address to the Secret Committee. India Tracts—W.

Report, *et supra*. Mr Cooke, from notes written immediately after the transaction, gives very interesting narrative, from the dock of Alverst, till the morning after the night of the Black Hole.

Orme, p. 78.

no part of his character, appears not on the present occasion to have intended cruelty, for when Mr Holwell was carried into his presence with his hands tied, he ordered them to be set loose, and assured him, upon the faith of a soldier, that of the heads of him and his companions, not a hair should be touched. When evening, however, came, it was a question with the guards to whom they were intrusted, how they might be secured for the night. Some search was made for a convenient apartment, but none was found, upon which information was obtained of a place which the English themselves had employed as a prison. Into this, without further inquiry, they were impelled. It was unhappily a small, ill-aired, and unwholesome dungeon, called the Black Hole, and the English had their own practice to thank for suggesting it to the officers of the Subahdar as a fit place of confinement.¹ Out of 146 unfortunate individuals thrust in, only twenty-three were taken out alive in the morning. The horror of the situation may be conceived, but it cannot be described. "Some of our company," says Mr Cooke, "expired very soon after being put in, others grew mad, and having lost their senses, died in a high delirium." Applications were made to the guard, with the offer of great rewards, but it was out of their power to afford relief. The only chance consisted in conveying intelligence, by means of a bribe,

¹ The atrocities of English imprisonment at home, not then exposed to detestation by the labours of Howard, too naturally reconciled Englishmen abroad to the use of dungeons of *Black Holes*. What had they to do with a *black hole*? Had no *black hole* existed (as none ought to exist anywhere, least of all in the sultry and unwholesome climate of Bengal), those who perished in the Black Hole of Calcutta would have experienced a different fate. Even so late as 1782, the common gaol of Calcutta is described by the Select Committee, "a miserable and pestilential place." That Committee examined two witnesses on the state of the common gaol of Calcutta. One said, 'The gaol is an old ruin of a house, there were very few windows to admit air, and those very small. He asked the gaoler how many souls were then confined in the prison? Who answered, upwards of 170, blacks and whites included—that there was no gaol allowance, that many persons had died for want of the necessaries of life. The nauseous smells, arising from such a crowded place, were beyond expression. Besides the prisoners, the number of women and attendants, to carry in provisions and dress victuals, was so great, that it was astonishing that any person could long survive such a situation. It was the most horrible place he ever saw, take it altogether.' The other witness said, "It is divided into small apartments, and those very bad, the stench dreadful, and more offensive than he ever experienced in this country—that there is no thorough draft of air—the windows are neither large nor numerous—the rooms low—that it would be impossible for any European to exist any length of time in the prison—that debtors and criminals were not separated—nor Hindoos, Mohammedans, and Europeans." First Report, Appendix, No xi.

BOOK IV English and French; and the Presidency of Bombay
 CHAP III. refused to engage in a measure by which it would be
 violated. There was another enterprise, however in which
 1756. they had already embarked, and in which, with the great
 force, military and naval, now happily assembled at Bom-
 bay they had sanguine hopes of success.

The Mahrattas, as early as the time of Sivajee, had raised something of a fleet, to protect them against the enterprise of the Siddoos. In this service a common man distinguished himself and rose from one post to another till he became Admiral of the fleet. He was appointed Governor of a strong fort, called Severndroog, situated on a rocky island, within cannon-shot of the continent, about eight miles north from Dabal. This adventurer quarrelled with the Mahratta government; and revolted with the greater part of the fleet. He not only set the Mahratta state at defiance, but was able to render himself master of the coast to an extent of sixty leagues, from Tanna to Rajapore and the Mahrattas compounded their dispute with him, by receiving a small annual tribute as a mark of subjection. The name of the successful rebel was Conajee Angria and he made piracy his trade. The nature of the coast is well adapted to that species of depredation because it is intersected by a great number of rivers, and the breezes compel ships to keep close to the land. The European nations had been harassed by this predatory community for nearly half a century they had made several efforts to subdue them, but the power of Angria had always increased and his fleets now struck terror into all commercial navigators on the western coast of India.

Several approaches towards the formation of a union for the extirpation of these corsairs had been made by the English and Mahrattas; but without effect, till 1755, when an English squadron under Commodore James, and a land-army of Mahrattas, attacked Severndroog, and took it, as well as the fort of Bancoota. It was toward the conclu-

These circumstances are not quite correctly stated. It was the father of Kambojee who first acquired distinction in the service of Sivajee, he was made admiral of the fleet by Raja Bam, and took part with his widow against Bhoor, the grandson of Sivajee, but was induced to acknowledge the latter by the grant of two forts, including Severndroog and Vizadroog or Chorla. Duff Mahrattas, L.C.S.—W

sion of the same year that Admiral Watson with his fleet, BOOK IV and Colonel Clive with his forces, arrived at Bombay the CHAP III final reduction of the piratical state was therefore decreed ——————
 On the 11th of February, 1756, the fleet, consisting of eight ships, besides a grab, and five bomb-ketches, having on board 800 Europeans and 1000 Sepoys commanded by Colonel Clive, arrived at Gheriah while a Mahratta army approached on the other side Gheriah, the capital of Angria, stood on a rocky promontory, nearly surrounded by the sea, and had a fort of extraordinary strength But the number of the assailants, and the violence of the cannonade, terrified both Angria and his people, and they made a feeble use of their advantages¹ Angria, with a view to effect an accommodation, placed himself in the hands of the Mahrattas , the fort surrendered , and the object of the expedition was completely attained.² Watson arrived at Madras on the 16th of May, and Clive repaired to his government at Fort St David, from which, in the month of August, he was summoned to assist in the deliberations for recovering Calcutta.³

It was resolved, after some debate, that the reestablishment of the Company's affairs in Bengal should be pursued at the expense of every other enterprise A dispute, however, of two months ensued, to determine in what manner prizes should be divided , who should command , and what should be the degree of power intrusted with the commander The parties, of whom the pretensions were severally to be weighed, were Mr Pigot, who had been Governor of Madras since the departure of Saunders, but was void of military experience , Colonel Aldercron, who claimed as senior officer of the King, but was unacquainted with the irregular warfare of the natives , Colonel Lawrence, whose experience and merit were unquestionable, but to whose asthmatical complaints the close and sultry climate of Bengal was injurious , and Clive, to whom none of these exceptions applied It was at last determined, that Clive

¹ This was Toolajee Angria, son of Kanhajee —W

² The author was not aware of the circumstances under which Gheriah was taken and retained by the English, in contravention of the terms under which they were engaged to co-operate with the Mahrattas, whom they contrived to anticipate in a mutually projected scheme of deception See Duff's Mahratta History, ii 88 —W

³ See for this account, Orme, i 406—417, Cambridge's War in India, p 120—130 , Lord Clive's Evidence, Report, ut supra

BOOK IV should be sent. It was also determined, that he should be
 CHAR III. sent with powers independent of the Presidency of Cal-
 cutta. Among his instructions, one of the most perempt-
 1756. tory was, that he should return, and be again at Madras
 with the whole of the troops, in the month of April about
 which time it was expected that in consequence of the
 war between France and England, a French fleet would
 arrive upon the coast. It was principally indeed, with a
 view to this return, that independence of the Calcutta
 rulers, who might be tempted to retain him, was bestowed
 upon Clive.

The force which sailed from the road of Madras, on the
 16th of October consisted of five King's ships with Admi-
 ral Watson as Commander and five Company's ships,
 serving as transports; having on boards 900 European
 troops, and 1500 Sepoys. All the ships, with the excep-
 tion of two, arrived in the Ganges on the 20th of Decem-
 ber and found the fugitives from Calcutta at Fulta, a town
 at some distance down the river to which the ships had
 descended, and where they had found it practicable to re-
 main.

After forwarding letters, full of threats, to Suraj-ad-
 dowl, which the Governor of Calcutta sent word that he
 dared not deliver it was resolved to commence operations,
 by the capture of a fort, which stood, on the river between
 Fulta and Calcutta. On the 27th of December at the
 time when the fort was to be attacked by the ships, Clive
 marched out, with the greater part of the troops, to lay an
 ambush for intercepting the garrison, who were not ex-
 pected to make a tedious defence. The troops, fatigued
 in gaining their position, were allowed to quit their arms
 to take a little repose and from a security says
 Mr Orme, "which no superiority or appearances in war
 could justify the common precaution of stationing senti-
 nels was neglected." In a few minutes they were all
 asleep and in this situation, surprised by a large body of
 the enemy. The presence of mind and steady courage,
 which never deserted Clive in sudden emergencies, en-
 abled him, even in those unfavourable circumstances, to
 disperse a band of irregular troops, led by a cowardly com-
 mander. But had the enemy's cavalry" says Orme,
 "advanced and charged at the same time that the infantry

began to fire, it is not improbable that the war would have been concluded on the very first trial of hostilities"¹

BOOK IV
CHAP III

1757

The ships came up and cannonaded the fort, but the garrison frustrated the project of Clive, and, totally unperceived, made their escape in the night. The other forts on the river were deserted, as the English approached, and on the 2d of January, 1757, the armament arrived at Calcutta. The garrison withstood not the cannon of the ships for two hours, and evacuated the place. The merchandise belonging to the Company was found mostly untouched, because it had been reserved for the Subahdar, but the houses of individuals were totally plundered.

Intelligence was received from the natives, who began to enter the town, that Hoogly, a considerable city, about twenty-three miles up the river from Calcutta, was thrown into great consternation by these recent events. In this situation an attack upon it was expected to produce a very favourable result. One of the ships sent on this service struck on a sandbank, and five days retarded the progress of the detachment. On the 10th of January they reached the spot, made a breach in the wall before night, and the troops no sooner mounted the rampart, than the garrison fled and escaped.

During the expedition to Hoogly news arrived of the commencement of hostilities between England and France.² The French in Bengal had a force of 300 Europeans, and a train of field artillery, which, if added to the army of the Subahdar, would render him an irresistible enemy. The English were now very desirous to make their peace with that formidable ruler, but the capture of Hoogly, undertaken solely with a view to plunder,³ had so augmented his

¹ Scrafton, p. 62, sinks the culpable circumstances — M. Sir J. Malcolm himself a soldier, shows that no such catastrophe was possible, "the thick jungle which concealed the approach of the infantry, was impervious to cavalry, who had no means of advancing, except through openings where they must have been seen, and the possibility of surprise deserted." Life of Clive, i 152 — W

² The Indian historian gives an amusing account of the relations between England and France. "Just at this crisis," says he, "the flames of war broke out between the French and English, two nations who had disputes between themselves of five or six hundred years' standing, and who, after proceeding to bloodshed, wars, battles, and massacres, for a number of years, would lay down their arms by common agreement, and take breath on both sides, in order to come to blows again, and to fight with as much fury as ever." Seer Mutakhereen, i 759

³ As observed by the biographer of Clive, there are no facts to warrant the imputation that plunder was the sole object of the attack upon Hoogly. The

BOOK IV rage, that he was not in a frame of mind to receive from **CHAP. III.** them any proposition and his army received its orders to march. Happily for the English the same spirit by which **1757** Duplex was reproached for not having negotiated a neutrality between the French and English Companies in India, though the nations were at war in Europe, prevailed in the Councils at Chandernagor. The rulers at that settlement refused to assist Suraj-ad-dowla; and proposed that they and the English should engage by treaty notwithstanding the war between their respective countries, to abstain from hostilities against one another in Bengal. Still the power of the Subahdar presented an appalling aspect to Clive and no sooner had he received intimation of an abatement in the irritation of that enemy than he renewed his application for peace. The Subahdar received his letter and even proposed a conference but continued his march, and on the 3d of February surrounded Calcutta with his camp. Clive resolved to surprise it before dawn of the following morning. The design was no less politic than bold; both as the audacity of it was likely to alarm a timorous enemy and as the difficulty of procuring provisions, surrounded by a large body of cavalry must soon have been great. The execution, however was badly planned and a thick mist augmented the causes of misfortune. The troops suffered considerably; and were several times exposed to the greatest dangers. Yet they marched through the camp; and produced on the minds of the Subahdar and his army the intended effect. Eager

opportunity of striking a successful blow against an enemy's town, was so obvious a reproof for his capture of Calcutta, that it is very unnecessary to seek for any other motives than the most arbitrary rules of warfare.—W

There is some contradiction in the statements of different authorities on this subject, which can be reconciled only by consideration of dates and circumstances. It appears probable, that the French were not informed of the war in Europe, until after the march of the Nawab to Calcutta, and the negotiations for peace with the English. They could not, therefore, have joined him sooner and to prevent that junction taking place, was one of Clive's reasons for agreeing to the treaty more readily than was thought advisable by Admiral Watson. He writes to the Chairman, I know there are many who think I have been too precipitate in the conclusion of the treaty, but they never knew that the delay of a day or two might have raised the Company's affairs, by the junction of the French with the Nawab, which was on the point of being carried into execution. Life, i 175. With the conclusion of the treaty the French lost their opportunity of co-operating with the Nawab. Their pretensions for a neutrality were subsequent to the 'Nawab's' retreat; and if Clive's account of the matter be correct, the English had but much reason to be grateful for their forbearance.—W

to be removed from an enemy capable of those daring attempts, Suraj-ad-dowla was now in earnest to effect an accommodation. Overtures were received and returned, and on the 9th of February a treaty was concluded, by which the Nabob, as he was styled by the English, agreed to restore to the Company their factories, and all the privileges they had formerly enjoyed, to permit them to fortify Calcutta, and to make compensation to them for such of the plundered effects as had been brought to account in the books of his government. So greatly was he pleased with this treaty, that two days after its conclusion, he proposed to conclude with the English an alliance offensive and defensive, a contract which the English eagerly formed, and which both parties ratified on that very day

1757.

In return to the French for that neutrality of theirs which had saved the English,¹ Clive, at the very moment of making peace with the Nabob, sounded him to know if he would permit the English to attack the settlement at Chandernagor, for which there still would be time before the setting in of the southern monsoon. The proposition was hateful to the Subahdar, but for the present he returned an evasive answer. As this was not a prohibition, Clive resolved to construe it as a permission, and he sent his army across the river. The Subahdar now interfered with efficacy, sent an express prohibition, and took measures for opposing the attempt.

The Council at Calcutta, no longer expecting the consent of the Subahdar, and alarmed at the thought of attempting the enterprise in defiance of his authority, entered into negociation with the French. They had mutually agreed upon terms, and obtained the assent of the Subahdar to guarantee between them a treaty of neutrality and pacification. But the factory at Chandernagor was dependent on the government of Pondicherry, and could only ratify the treaty provisionally, the government of Calcutta signed with definitive powers. This difference started a scruple in the brain of Admiral Watson, and he refused to sign. In the opinion of Clive, there was but one alternative that of embracing the neutrality, or instantly attacking Chandernagor. But Watson

¹ See preceding note

BOOK IV refused to attack without the Nabob's consent and Clive
 CHAP III urged the necessity of accepting the neutrality. In a
 letter to the Select Committee he said, "If the neutrality
 1757 be refused, do but reflect, Gentlemen, what will be the
 opinion of the world of these our late proceedings. Did
 we not, in consequence of a letter received from the
 Governor and Council of Chandernagor making offers of a
 neutrality within the Ganges, in a manner accedes to it, by
 desiring they would send deputies, and that we would
 gladly come into such neutrality with them?" And have
 we not, since their arrival, drawn out articles that were
 satisfactory to both parties and agreed that such articles
 should be reciprocally signed, sealed, and sworn to? What
 will the Nabob think, after the promise made him on our
 side, and after his consenting to guarantee this neutrality? He,
 and all the world, will certainly think, that we are
 men without principles, or that we are men of a trifling
 insignificant disposition. While the alterations on this
 subject continued, news reached the Subahdar that
 Ahmed Shah, the Abdaljee, had taken Delhi and meant
 to extend his conquests to the eastern provinces of the
 Mogul empire. This intelligence, which filled him with
 consternation, suggested the vast importance of securing
 the co-operation of the English and he immediately sent
 a letter to Colonel Clive, the object of which was to pave
 the way for attaining it, on almost any terms. The very
 same day on which the letter of the Nabob reached Cal-
 cutta, the arrival was announced of three ships with troops
 from Bombay and of one of the ships, also bearing troops,
 which sailed with Clive from Madras, but was compelled
 to return. With such additions, says Mr Orme "the
 English force was deemed capable of taking Chandernagor
 although protected by the Nabob's army. Colonel Clive
 therefore immediately dismissed the French deputies, who
 were then with him waiting to sign the treaty, which was

¹ Admiral Watson asserts, in a letter to the Nawab, that the proposal for
 neutrality originated with the English. Life of Clive, I. 147. This account of
 the failure of the negotiations, agrees in the main with that in the text; but
 there can be little doubt, that neither of the parties had the power of exempting
 themselves from the consequences of international warfare. It was the
 duty of the English to attempt the reduction of Chandernagore, as it would
 have been that of the French to capture Calcutta, had they been in sufficient
 strength.—W.

even written out fair, and which they supposed had been entirely concluded "¹"

BOOK IV

CIRAP III

1757

The English force advanced, while the scruples of Admiral Watson, under the great accession of force, were vanquished by some supposed contradictions in the letters of the Subahdar, and the opposition of the Subahdar was suspended by his apprehension of the Afghans. On the 14th of March, the detachment from Bombay having joined the English army, hostilities commenced. The French defended themselves with great gallantry the Nabob, roused at last,² and eager to prevent their fall, sent peremptory orders to the English to desist, and even put a part of his army in motion. But the fire from the ships was irresistible, and the reduction of the fort anticipated the effects of his intended resistance. The resentment of the Nabob was checked by his remaining dread of the Abdallees, and he still courted the friendship of the invaders. He, however, eluded their request to give up all the other French factories and subjects in his dominions, and afforded protection to the troops who had escaped from the fort of Chandernagor.

The time was now arrived when, according to his instructions, Clive ought no longer to have deferred his return to Madras. He himself, in his letter to the Select Committee, dated the 4th of March, had said respecting Watson's objection to the treaty of neutrality, "this leads me to consider seriously the situation of the Company's affairs on the coast, and the positive orders I have received from the President and the Committee at Madras, to return at all events with as great a part of the forces under my command as could possibly be spared"². "The situation of

¹ Orme, ii. 139. Clive himself gives a curious account of the deliberation upon this measure. "That the members of the Committee were—Mr Drake (the Governor), himself (Col Clive), Major Kilpatrick, and Mr Becher—Mr Becher gave his opinion for a neutrality, Major Kilpatrick, for a neutrality, he himself gave his opinion for the attack of the place, Mr Drake gave an opinion that nobody could make anything of Major Kilpatrick then asked him, whether he thought the forces and squadron could attack Chandernagor and the Nabob's army at the same time?—he said, he thought they could, upon which Major Kilpatrick desired to withdraw his opinion, and to be of his. They voted Mr Drake's no opinion at all, and Major Kilpatrick and he being the majority, a letter was written to Admiral Watson, desiring him to co-operate in the attack on Chandernagor." Report, ut supra. There is something ludicrous in voting a man's opinion, to be no opinion, yet the undecisive, hesitating, ambiguous propositions, of men who know not what resolution to take, cannot, in general, perhaps, be treated by a better rule.

² Report, ut supra, Appendix, No vi

BOOK IV the Company's affairs on the coast," that is in the Carnatic, was indeed in no small degree alarming, if they remained without the protection of their military force,

1757

sent for the restoration of the settlements in Bengal. The Presidency of Madras had not left themselves troops sufficient to make head against the French even then in the country; and it was known at Madras, before the departure of Clive, that, in consequence of the expected hostilities, a powerful armament was destined by the French government for India and without doubt would make its first landing in the Carnatic. On the other side Clive beheld an opening for exploits, both splendid and profitable, in Bengal overlooked all other considerations violated his instructions and remained,

The French, who had collected themselves at Coosimba sar became the first subject of dispute. Instead of yielding them up, on the repeated solicitations of the English, the Nabob furnished M. Law who was the head of the factory at Coosimbazar with money arms, and ammunition, and sent them into Behar. Clive, to the great displeasure of his new ally threatening, and even preparing to detach a part of his army to intercept them. By the author of the Soor Mutakhareen, we are told that M. Law before his departure, revealed to Suraj-ad-dowlah the disaffection of his principal officers; the connexion which they would be sure to form with the English for his destruction and the necessity of retaining the French about his person if he wished to preserve himself from that deplorable fate. The persons, however who meditated his ruin, and who saw the importance of removing the French, pressed upon his mind the impolicy of quarrelling with the victorious English on account of the vanquished and fugitive French. He therefore dismissed M. Law telling him, that if there should happen any thing

¹ It is quite clear that Clive judged soundly what was his duty when he determined to remain. To have withdrawn any part of the force from Bengal, would have been not only to forfeit the advantages that had been gained, but would have exposed the English from the province. The feelings of Suraj-ad-dowlah were unchanged, his power was unbroken, and he had now the certain assistance of the French. It is quite impossible that the English could have made head against them, or could have delayed for any continuance whatever. Clive would have been traitor, not only to his own cause, but the interests of his country had he obeyed the calls from Madras, where the dangerousness less imminent, and the consequences of dissension less irreparable.—W

new, he would send for him again"—"Send for me again?" BOOK IV.
 answered Law, "Be assured, my lord Nawab, that this is CHAP III
 the last time we shall see each other, remember my ——————
 words,—we shall never meet again, it is nearly impos- 1757
 sible"¹

Lord Clive, in his statement to the House of Commons, said, "that after Chandernagor was resolved to be attacked, he repeatedly said to the committee, as well as to others, that they could not stop there, but must go further, that, having established themselves by force, and not by consent of the Nabob, he would endeavour to drive them out again, that they had numberless proofs of his intentions, many upon record, and that he did suggest to Admiral Watson and Sir George Pococke, as well as to the Committee, the necessity of a revolution, that Mr Watson and the gentlemen of the Committee, agreed upon the necessity of it,² and that the management of that revolution was, with consent of the committee, left to Mr Watts, who was resident at the Nabob's capital, and himself, that great dissatisfaction arising among Suraj-ad-dowla's troops, Meer Jaffier was pitched upon to be the person to place in the room of Suraj-ad-dowla, in consequence of which a treaty was formed"³

A complicated scene took place, which it would be little instructive to unfold,⁴ of plotting and intrigue. The first proposals were made by an officer named Yar Khan Latty, and they were greedily embraced, till intimation was received that Meer Jaffier Khan was inclined to enter into a confederacy for deposing the Subahdar. This was a personage of much greater power and distinction. He had

¹ Seer Mutahareen, i. 762

² Captain Brereton, who was Lieutenant with Admiral Watson, declared in evidence, "that he had heard Admiral Watson say, he thought it an extraordinary measure to depose a man they had so lately made a solemn treaty with." Report, ut supra.—M

Better evidence, Admiral Watson's own, proves, that he entirely approved of the proceedings. He writes to Clive "I am glad to hear that Meer Jaffier's party increases, I hope every thing will turn out, in the expedition, to your wishes, and that I may soon have to congratulate you on the success of it." Life of Clive, i. 242—W.

³ Report, ut supra.—M From the manner in which this is stated, it would seem as if the project of a revolution originated with the English, although, from what follows, it is clear that it was suggested to them by proposals from the principal persons at Murshidabad, both Mohammedan and Hindu amongst the latter, and a most influential individual, was the opulent bawler Juggut Set. Life of Clive, i. 227—W

⁴ It has been done with exemplary minuteness and patience by Mr Orme, II. 149—175

BOOK IV been married at an early period to the sister of Aliverdi,
 CHAP. III and held a high rank in his army. Between him and Aliverdi had not been always the best understanding and
 1767 Meer Jaffier had at one time entered into a project of treason. But the interest of the two parties taught them to master their dissatisfaction and at the death of Aliverdi, Meer Jaffier was paymaster general of the forces, one of the highest offices in an Indian government. Suraj-ad-dowlah hated Meer Jaffier and was too ignorant and headstrong to use management with his dislikes. Shortly after his accession, Meer Jaffier was removed from his office, and remained exposed to all that might result from the violent disposition of the Subahdar. According to the constitution, however of an Indian army in which every General maintains his own troops, a considerable portion of the army belonged to Meer Jaffier and this he exerted himself to increase, by enlisting as many as possible of the adventurers, with whom the nature of Indian warfare made the country abound.

In manufacturing the terms of the confederacy the grand concern of the English appeared to be money "The Committee really believed," says Mr Orme, "the wealth of Suraj-ad-dowlah much greater than it possibly could be, even if the whole life of the late Nabob Aliverdi had not been spent in defending his own dominions against the invasion of numerous enemies and even if Suraj-ad-dowlah himself had reigned many instead of only one year." They resolved accordingly not to be sparing in their demands; and the situation of Jaffier Khan, and the manners and customs of the country made him ready to promise whatever they desired. In name of compensation for losses by the capture of Calcutta, 10,000,000 rupees were promised to the English Company 4,000,000 rupees to English inhabitants, 2,000,000 to the Indians, and 700,000 to the Armenians. These sums were specified in the formal treaty. Over and beside this, it was resolved by the Committee of the Council, that is, the small number of individuals by whom the business was performed, that a donation of 2,500,000 rupees should be asked for the squadron; and another of equal amount for the army.

Orme, II. 163.

These presents, which were afterwards made use of by the personal enemies of Orme, to effect his banishment and attempt his ruin distract much from the

"When this was settled," says Lord Clive,¹ "Mr Becher BOOK IV.
 (a member) suggested to the Committee, that he thought CHAP III
 that Committee, who managed the great machine of go-
 vernment, was entitled to some consideration, as well as
 the army and navy" Such a proposition, in such an
 assembly, could not fail to appear eminently reasonable
 It met with a suitable approbation Mr Becher informs
 us, that the sums received were 280,000 rupees by Mr
 Drake the Governor, 280,000 by Colonel Clive, and
 240,000 each, by himself, Mr Watts, and Major Kilpatrick,
 the inferior members of the Committee² The terms ob-
 tained in favour of the Company were, that all the French
 factories and effects should be given up, that the French
 should be for ever excluded from Bengal, that the ter-

1757

splendour of his reputation, and reflect discredit upon all who were parties to their acceptance. That General, Admiral, and Members of the Select Committee, were allke influenced by a grasping and mercenary spirit is undeniable, and they seized, with an avidity which denoted a lamentable absence of elevated principles, upon an unexpected opportunity of realizing princely fortunes At the same time, many considerations may be urged in their excuse, and a more disinterested conduct would have exhibited in them, a very extraordinary exception to the prevailing practices and feelings of the times The servants of the Company had never been forbidden to receive presents from the natives of rank, and as they were very ill paid, it was understood that they were at liberty to pay themselves in any manner they could which did not injure their employers The making of presents was an established practice amongst the natives, and is one which they even yet consider as a necessary part of friendly or formal intercourse, and although, agreeably to their notions, it is most incumbent on the inferior to approach his superior with an offering, yet on great public occasions, and especially upon any signal triumph, the distribution of liberal donations to the army and the chief officers of the court is a natural result There was nothing more than customary, therefore, in the gift of large sums of money by Mir Jaffier to those to whom he was indebted for his accession, and, as there was neither law nor usage opposed to the acceptance of his donations by the servants of the Company, and as they were avowedly expected and openly received, there was nothing dishonest in the transaction That the amount of the presents was excessive, may be attributed, in some degree, to the erroneous opinion entertained probably by Mir Jaffier, and certainly by the Company's servants, of the great wealth in the treasury of Suraj-ad-dowla, which admitted of such deduction With a just regard to circumstances and seasons, therefore, it is unjust to expect from the servants of the Company a lofty disregard of personal advantage, although they would have merited more unqualified admiration had they disdained their private enrichment in the noble aim of promoting the public good much un-
 happiness would have been avoided by themselves, much misery would have been spared to Bengal

¹ Evidence before the Committee, Report, ut supra

² Ibid These latter receipts were the occasion of a dispute "Upon this being known," said Clive (Report, ut supra, "Mr Watson replied, that he was entitled to a share in that money He (Clive) agreed in opinion with the gentlemen, when this application was made, that Mr Watson was not one of the Committee, but at the same time did justice to his services, and proposed to the gentlemen to contribute as much as would make his share equal to the Governor's and his own, that about three or four consented to it, the rest would not."

BOOK IV territory surrounding Calcutta to the distance of 600 yards
CHAP. III. beyond the Mahratta ditch, and all the land lying south of
 ——————
 1757 Calcutta as far as Culpee, should be granted them on
 Zemindary tenure, the Company paying the rents in the
 same manner as other Zemindars.

For effecting the destruction of Suraj-ad-dowla it was
 concerted, that the English should take the field, and that
 Meer Jaffier should join them at Cutwa, with his own
 troops, and those of as many of the other commanders as
 it should be in his power to disembark. When the English
 arrived at Cutwa, no allies, however appeared. Letters
 were received from Moorschedabad by some of the natives
 in the camp, stating that the conspiracy was discovered,
 and that Meer Jaffier had obtained his pardon, on con-
 dition of aiding the Nabob with all his resources against
 the English. Instead of Meer Jaffier and his troops, a
 letter from Meer Jaffier arrived. In this it was stated,
 that the suspicions of the Nabob had been raised that he
 had constrained Meer Jaffier to swear fidelity on the
 Koran that it had thus become impossible for Meer Jaffier
 to join the English before the day of battle but that it
 would be easy for him, in the action, to desert the Nabob,
 and decide the fortune of the day. The mind of the Eng-
 lish commander was disturbed. The treachery of Meer
 Jaffier could not be regarded as improbable; and "he
 thought it extremely hazardous (to use his own words)
 to pass a river which is only fordable in one place, march
 150 miles up the country and risk a battle, when, if a
 defeat ensued, not one man would have returned to
 tell it."

In these difficulties he called a council of war. "It is
 very rare," says Mr Orme, "that a council of war decides
 for battle." Clive himself says, "that this was the only
 council of war that ever he held, and if he had abided by that
 council, it would have been the ruin of the East India
 Company." The singularity is, that in the council Clive
 himself was of the same opinion with the majority and by
 delivering his opinion first, which was far from the usual
 practice, had no doubt considerable influence in deter-
 mining others yet that afterwards he disregarded that

decision, and took upon himself to act in direct opposition to it. The army was ordered to cross the river BOOK IV
CHAP III
the next morning, and at a little past midnight arrived at Plassy.¹

1757

At this place, a part of the army of the Subahdar had been intrenched for a considerable time, and the Subahdar himself had reached it with the remainder of his forces the evening before the arrival of the English. The army with which he was now to contend for his power and his life consisted of 50,000 foot, 18,000 horse, and fifty pieces of cannon.² Of the English force, 900, including 100 artillery-men and fifty sailors, were Europeans, 100 were Topasses, and 2100 Sepoys. The battle was nothing but a distant cannonade. This was maintained during the greatest part of the day, and sufficed to terrify the Subahdar, who, by the advice of those who desired his ruin, issued orders of preparation for retreat. Upon this, Jaffier Khan was observed moving off with his troops. Clive was then convinced of his intention to join him; he now, therefore, ordered the English to advance, and attack that part of the line which still maintained its position. The knowledge of these two events determined the mind of the Subahdar; he mounted a fleet camel and fled with 2000 attendants. No further resistance was offered, and the English entered the camp at five o'clock, having, by the assistance of a weak and vicious sovereign, determined the fate of a great kingdom, and of 30,000,000 of people, with the loss of twenty Europeans killed and wounded, of sixteen Sepoys killed, and only thirty-six wounded.³

The army advanced, about nine miles, to Daudpore, the

¹ Scrafton (*Reflections*, p. 90) says, that the Colonel's resolution was founded upon a letter he received from Jaffier in the course of the day. Orme, who loves a little of the marvellous, says, "that as soon as the council of war broke up he retired alone into the adjoining grove, where he continued near an hour in deep meditation, and gave orders, on his return to his quarters, that the army should cross the river the next morning" *ib.* 170 — M

It is clear that the alteration in Clive's views must have been the result of his private meditations, and the circumstances particularized by Orme, are not unlikely to have been communicated to him by Clive himself — W

² Clive says 18,000 horse and 35,000 foot, and forty pieces of cannon. Letter to the Secret Committee *Life*, i 263

³ Lord Clive stated (*Report, ut supra*), "that the battle's being attended with so little bloodshed arose from two causes, first, the army was sheltered by so high a bank that the heavy artillery of the enemy could not possibly do them much mischief, the other was, that Suraje-ad-dowla had not confidence in his army, nor his army any confidence in him, and therefore they did not do their duty upon that occasion"

BOOK IV same evening, with little occasion to pursue the enemy
 CHAP III. who had almost entirely dispersed. At this place, Meer
 Jaffier sent a message to the English commander that he,
 1757 with many more of the great officers, and a considerable
 part of the army waited his commands. The next morning
 Clive sent to conduct him to his quarters and he
 arrived, under some apprehensions, which the Colonel,
 thinking it no time for reproaches, hastened to dispel. It
 was arranged that Meer Jaffier should march to the capital
 immediately to prevent the escape of Suraj-ad-dowla, and
 the removal of his wealth.

That wretched prince had arrived at his palace the
 night after the battle, where, now apprized that he had
 not a friend on whom he could rely and utterly uncertain
 what course to pursue, he remained till the evening of the
 following day when Meer Jaffier entered the city. Then
 his fears dictated a resolution. He disguised himself in a
 mean dress, and about ten o'clock at night went secretly
 out of a window of the palace, with his favourite concu-
 bine and a single eunuch, intending to join M. Law and
 escape into Bahar where he counted upon the protection
 of the Governor. The rowers, however, of his boat, worn
 out before the morning with fatigue, stopped at Raj Mahl,
 where he endeavoured to conceal himself in a garden. He
 was there, at break of day discovered by a man, whom he
 had formerly treated with cruelty and who now revealed
 him to the Governor. Covered with indignity he was
 hurried back to Moorschedabad, and presented to Meer
 Jaffier who placed him under the custody of his son. The
 son, a brutal, ferocious youth, the same night gave orders
 for his assassination. M. Law who received the summons
 to join the Nabob as soon as war with the English appeared
 inevitable, immediately began his march; but had not
 passed Tanchigully when he received reports of the battle
 of Plassey and halted for further information. Had he
 immediately proceeded twenty miles further" says Mr
 Orme, "he would the next day have met and saved Suraj-
 ad-dowla, and an order of events, very different from
 those which we have to relate, would, in all probability
 have ensued."

The battle was fought on the 23rd of June, and on the

25th Colonel Clive with his troops arrived at Moorsheda- BOOK IV
bad. On the next day a meeting was held to confer about the stipulated moneys, when the chief officer of finance declared that the whole of Suraj-ad-dowla's treasures was inadequate to the demand "The restitution," says Mr Orme, "with the donations to the squadron, the army, and the committee, amounted to 22,000,000 of sicca rupees, equal to 2,750,000^l. But other donations were promised, which have since been the foundation of several fortunes"¹ The scantiness of the Bengal treasury was most unexpected, as well as most painful news, to the English, who had been accustomed to a fond and literal belief of Oriental exaggeration on the subject of Indian riches. With great difficulty were they brought to admit so hateful a truth. Finding at last that more could not be obtained, they consented to receive one half of the moneys immediately, and to accept of the rest by three equal payments in three years. Even of the portion which was now to be received, it was necessary to take one third not in specie, which was all exhausted, but in jewels, plate, and other effects, at a valuation. Before the 9th of August, after a multitude of difficulties, the stipulated half, all but 584,905 rupees, was delivered and discharged.²

¹ Ibid ii 180

² A piece of consummate treachery was practised upon an individual Among the Hindu merchants established at Calcutta was Omichund, "a man," says Mr Orme, "of great sagacity and understanding" who had traded to a vast amount, and acquired an enormous fortune "The extent of his habitation," continues Mr Orme, "divided into various departments, the number of his servants continually employed in various occupations, and a retinue of armed men in constant pay, resembled more the state of a prince than the condition of a merchant. His commerce extended to all parts of Bengal and Bahar, and by presents and services he had acquired so much influence with the principal officers of the Bengal government, that the Presidency, in times of difficulty, used to employ his mediation with the Nabob. This pre-eminence, however, did not fail to render him the object of much envy' (Orme, ii 50) When the alarm, excited by the hostile designs of Suraj-ad-dowla, threw into consternation the minds of Mr Drake and his council, among other weak ideas which occurred to them, one was, to secure the person of Omichund, lest, peradventure, he should be in concert with their enemies. He was seized and thrown into confinement. His guards, believing that violence, that is dis honour, would next fall upon his house, set fire to it, after the manner of Hindus, and slaughtered the inmates of his harem. Notwithstanding this, when Mr Holwell endeavoured to parley with the Nabob he employed Omichund to write letters to his friends, importuning them to intercede, in that extremity, with the prince. At the capture, though his person was liberated, his valuable effects and merchandise were plundered. No less than 400,000 rupees in cash were found in his treasury. When an order was published that such of the English as had escaped the black hole might return to their homes, they were supplied with provisions by Omichund "whose intercession," says Orme, "had probably procured their return" Omichund, upon the ruin of Calcutta, followed the Nabob's army, and soon acquired a high degree of con-

BOOK IV Upon the news of the seizure and death of Suraj-ad-dowla, M. Law with the French party hastened back to

1757

allies both with the Nabob's favourites, and with himself. After the recovery of Calcutta, when the Nabob, alarmed at the attack of his camp, entered into negotiation, and concluded treaty, Oudhaind was one of the principal agents employed. And when Mr Watts was sent to Moorshedabad as agent at the shérâb (court) of Suraj-ad-dowla, he was accompanied, says Mr Orme (p. 127), by Oudhaind, whose conduct in the late negotiation had elicited the suspicion of former insinuations, insomuch that Mr Watts was permitted to consult and employ him without reserve on all occasions. He was employed as chief instrument in all the intrigues with Jaffer. It was never admitted that he did not second, with all his efforts, the projects of the English; it was never denied that his services were of the utmost importance. Mr Orme says expressly (p. 189), that "his tales and artifices prevented Suraj-ad-dowla from believing the representations of his most traitorous servants, who early suspected, and at length were convinced, that the English were confederated with Jaffer." When the terms of compensation for the losses sustained by the capture of Calcutta were negotiated between Mr Watts and Major Jaffer, 2,000,000 of rupees were set down to Oudhaind, which, considering the extent of his property and that "most of the best houses in Calcutta were his," (Orme, p. 128), was probably not more than his less. Looking forward to the rewards, which he doubted not that Jaffer if successful, would bestow upon those of the English who were the chief instruments of his elevation; estimating also the importance of his own services, and the risk, both of life and of fortune, which, in rendering those services, he had incurred, Oudhaind conceived that he too might put in his claim for reward; and, according to the example of his countrymen, resolved not to injure himself by the modesty of his demand. He asked compensation of five per cent., on the money which should be received from the Nabob's treasury, and fourth part of the jewels; but agreed, upon hearing the objections of Mr. Watts, to refer his claims to the committee. When the accounts were sent to Calcutta, the sum to be given to Oudhaind, even as compensation for his losses, seemed a very heavy grievance to men who pointed for more to themselves. Two men whose minds were in such state, the great demands of Oudhaind appeared (the reader will laugh—but they did literally appear) exorbitant. They were voted exorbitant; and so great a crime, as to deserve to be punished—to be punished, not only by depriving him of all reward, but depriving him of his compensation, that compensation which was adjudged for to everybody. It was voted that Oudhaind should have nothing. They were in his power however therefore he was not to be irritated. It was necessary he should be deceived. Clive, whose deception, when it suited his purpose, never cost a pang, proposed, that two treaties with Major Jaffer should be drawn up, and signed, one, in which satisfaction to Oudhaind should be provided for, which Oudhaind should see; another, that which should really be executed, in which he should not be named. To his honour let it spoken, Admiral Watson refused to be a party to this treachery. He would not sign the false treaty and the committee forgave his name. When Oudhaind, upon the final adjournment, was told that he was cleared, and freed that he was ruined now, he fainted away and lost his reason. He was from that moment insane. Not an Englishman, not even Mr Orme, has yet expressed a word of sympathy or regret.—*sl.*

In this statement some very material circumstances are omitted, which palliate, if they do not justify the description that was practised. Before the attack upon Calcutta, Oudhaind was in friendly correspondence with the ministers and servants of the Nawab, and upon his being taken, was treated with severity by Suraj-ad-dowla, whom he accompanied to Moorshedabad, and there obtained from him repayment of the money which the plunder of Calcutta had been carried off from his house. Notwithstanding this, he was one of the first, through his connections, no doubt, with the English ministers, and then the bankers, to engage in the plot against Suraj-ad-dowla. The English had, therefore, no great reason to look upon him as their friend, and as it is evident that he was stronger to every principle except love of money, there is nothing in his character to awaken any sympathy for his fate. Still it is conceivable, that thus far he merited no treason, and that his services were

join the Governor of Bahar at Patna, the capital of the province Upon the assassination of the father of Suraj-ad-dowla, Aliverdi had nominated Suraj-ad-dowla himself to the nabobship of that important province , but appointed Ramnarain, a Hindu, in whom he reposed great confidence, to be Deputy Governor in the absence of the Prince Ramnarain had administered the affairs of the province during the life of Aliverdi, and had continued in the government since the accession of Suraj-ad-dowla From him Meer Jaffier expected no co-operation, and displayed anxiety that the French party should be pursued He suspected, however, the fidelity of any part of his own army , and a large detachment of the English were sent under Major Coote They were detained too long in preparation , they were poorly provided with the means of expedition , and the European part of the detachment,

BOOK IV. CHAP III

1757.

entitled to consideration It was intended to reimburse his losses and remunerate his assistance, but his want of principle instigated him to enrich himself by the secret to which he had been admitted, and when all was prepared for action, he waited on Mr Watts, the agent at Cassimbazar, and threatened to acquaint the Nawab with the conspiracy, unless a donation was secured to him of thirty lacs of rupees, about 350,000! The demand was exorbitant, and infinitely beyond the amount of any losses he could have sustained by the plunder of Calcutta, for which losses, also, it is to be remembered, he had already received compensation Mr Mill thinks it probably not more than his loss, because the best houses in Calcutta, according to Orme, were his But admitting that they were of great value, which is not very likely, they were still his Calcutta was not razed to the ground, the buildings were still there, and on its recapture had of course reverted to their owners The claim was wholly inadmissible, and its unreasonableness was aggravated by the threat of treachery with which it was enforced What was to be done? To have rejected it at once would have been followed by the certain murder of the Company's servants at Cassimbazar, and of Mir Jaffer with all his family and adherents, and by the probable defeat of the British projects and their destruction The menaced treason of Omichund, and its fatal consequences, are scarcely adverted to in the preceding account, although it was that, and not the mere demand of extravagant compensation, which was naturally enough denounced by the committee as a crime, and determined to be worthy of punishment Clive, who had all along advocated his cause, and defended his character, " received with equal surprise and indignation the incontrovertible proofs offered of his guilt Viewing him as a public enemy, he considered, as he stated at the period, and publicly avowed afterwards, every artifice that could deceive him to be not only defensible, but just and proper " There may be a difference of opinion, on this subject, and it would have been more for the credit of the European character, that however treacherously extorted, the promise should have been performed, the money should have been paid, but there can be no doubt, that in order to appreciate with justice the conduct of Clive and the Committee, the circumstance of Omichund's menaced treason should not be kept out of sight As to the reputed effects of his disappointment upon his intellects and life, there is good reason to doubt their occurrence, for in the month of August following, Clive recommends him to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, as " a person capable of rendering great services, and, therefore, not wholly to be discarded " See Life of Clive, f. 289 —W.

BOOK IV

CHAPTER IV

1757

exasperated at the fatigue they had to endure, behaved mutinously on the way. Before they reached Patna the French had arrived and, to obviate disputes, had been sent forward by Rammnarain into the territory of the Subahdar of Oude, with whom he had begun to negotiate an alliance. Major Coota was at first instructed to endeavour by intrigue and by force to wrest the government from Rammnarain but while he was meditating the execution of those orders, he received further instructions which led to an accommodation and he returned to Moonshedabad on the 13th of September. The detachment which he had conducted was stationed at Cossimbazar near Moonshedabad; the rest of the army was sent into quarters at Chandernagor as a more healthy situation than the seat of the Presidency and on the day after the arrival of Major Coota, Colonel Clive left Moonshedabad and returned to Calcutta.

CHAPTER IV

Removal of the War with the French in the Carnatic—Arrival of Lally.—French power superior to the English—English power superior to the French.—Pondicherry taken.—And the French driven out of the Carnatic.

WHEN the English detachment for the recovery of Calcutta, and the French detachment for the relief of Bussy left the Carnatic, the contending parties were so far diminished in force as to meditate quietness and forbearance. The English, till the troops which they had sent to Bengal should return the French, till the armament should arrive which they expected from Europe. In the mean time it was felt by the English as a grievous mis-

Rammnarain was severely subject of the Subahdar of Bengal and Bihar. His conduct was equivocal, and it was necessary to compel him to submission, or deprive him of his government. As soon as he saw that Meer Jaffer was resolutely supported by the English, he satisfied Clive of his being free from all treacherous intentions, and there was no longer any moth for his removal.—W

The chief authorities which have been followed for this series of transactions in Bengal, have been the Peer Miskinshaw, I. 288—373; the First Report from the Committees on the Causes, State, and Condition of the East India Company in 1773, which is full of correct information; Orme's War in India, II. 24—194; and the tracts published by the various actors in the scene, Borlase, Watt, &c.

fortune, that though their Nabob Mohammed Ali was now BOOK IV.
without a rival in the Carnatic, its pecuniary produce was CHAP IV
remarkably small¹ The governors of forts and districts,
the zemindars, polygars, and renters, employed, as usual,
all their means of artifice and force to withhold their pay-
ments, and the rabble employed by Mohammed Ali as
soldiers, ill paid and weakly governed, were found alto-
gether inadequate to the establishment of an efficient
authority in the province The notion which was early
entertained of the great pecuniary supplies capable of
being drawn from Madura and Tinivelly, appears still to
have maintained a determining influence in the councils
of Madras, and notwithstanding the general resolution to
remain inactive, Captain Calliaud, the commanding officer
at Trichinopoly, before the end of the year 1756, received
instructions to renew his attempts for the reduction of
those dependencies In the hope of prevailing upon the
King of Tanjore to afford some assistance—a hope which,
as usual, he took care to disappoint—Captain Calliaud
directed his march through Tanjore, and crossing Mara-
war, arrived in Tinivelly The troops who accompanied
him, joined to the body of Sepoys who had remained in
the country, and the troops of the Polygars who had
espoused the English interest, composed a formidable
army But it was unable to proceed to action for want of
money, and the utmost exertions of Calliaud produced
but an insignificant supply Intelligence that the rebel-
lious polygars were treating with the Mysoreans, who had
a station at the fort of Dindigul, presented in strong
colours the necessity of expedition, yet he was unable to
leave Tinivelly before the 10th of April, when he marched
to attack Madura with 180 Europeans, 2500 Sepoys, six
field-pieces, and 500 horse Upon arriving at the town he
found it a place of much greater strength than he had
been led to suppose, and, without battering cannon, not
easy, if possible to be reduced. He planned an effort to
take it by surprise. The first ladders were planted, and
Calliaud himself, with twenty men, had got into the
fausse-bray, when the guard within received the alarm,
and they were obliged to retreat. Two companies of

1757.

¹ It was a real evil to the government, that the revenues were withheld by refractory tributaries and contumacious dependants.—W

BOOK IV Sepoys were soon after despatched to bring pieces of battering artillery from Trichinopoly and Calliaud had commenced an intrigue with some of the jemadars, or captains of the enemy's troops, when he received intelligence that the French had arrived at Trichinopoly.

LFB.

During those efforts to obtain possession of the revenues of Madura and Tinivelly similar efforts had been undertaken in other parts of the province. A brother of the Nabob, by name Nujeeb Oolla, who was Governor of Nalore and its district, situated in the northern quarter of the Carnatic, evaded or refused payment of the sums demanded of him and the Nabob, who possessed not the means of coercion, was urgent with the English to perform it in his stead. The rupture between the two brothers took place towards the end of February and it was the 1st of April before the English troops were ready to march. By the end of the month they had erected batteries against the fort on the 21 of May a breach was effected, which they deemed practicable and a storm was attempted the next morning. But the English were repulsed from the breach, nor was it deemed expedient to renew the attack till more battering-cannon should be received from Madras. In the mean time the detachment received orders to return to the Presidency with all expedition.

The Government of Pondicherry notwithstanding the pacific policy incalculated by the recall of Dupleix, and the commands which they had received to abstain from all operations of hazard till the arrival of the forces which they expected from Europe, determined, when they saw the English so largely at work, and their small force separated to such a distance as Tinivelly and Nalore, to avail themselves of an opportunity which good fortune seemed to present. They took the field on the 6th of April but to cover their designs, with only a small number of troops and for an object of minor importance. By forced marches they appeared before Ellavanasore on the 10th, a fort possessed by a chief who had hitherto refused to acknowledge either the English or the French Nabob. In a sally in which he threw the French army into great jeopardy he received a mortal wound, of which he died in a few days, and the garrison, during the night, evacuated the

fort. The French, after this acquisition, marched in the direction leading to the territory of some polygars with whom they had disputes ; and Captain Calliaud received a letter from the Madras Presidency, on the very day on which he attempted to surprise Madura, that from the late intelligence received of the motions of the French, no design on their part was apprehended against Trichinopoly¹. The season for the arrival of the English troops from Bengal was elapsed ; and it was impossible now that any should return before September. The French, therefore, suddenly barring their garrisons, leaving in Pondicherry itself none but invalids, and enrolling the European inhabitants to man the walls, despatched every soldier to the field, and the army took post before Trichinopoly on the 14th of May. The garrison, deprived of the troops which had marched to Madura, were insufficient to guard the walls ; and they had 500 French prisoners in the fort. Calliaud received intelligence before Madura of the imminent danger of Trichinopoly, at three o'clock in the afternoon of the 21st, at six he was on his march, on the 25th, at day-break, he halted nineteen miles from Trichinopoly. An army five times as great as his watched his approach, and guarded every avenue by which it was supposed he could enter the fort. On one side of the town was a large plain, about seven miles in extent, consisting of rice-fields covered with water, which the French deemed impassable. Calliaud continued his march, as if he intended to enter by one of the ordinary inlets, till night, when he suddenly took another direction, and arrived at the margin of the rice-fields about ten o'clock. The fatigue of marching through the rice-fields up to the knees in mud, after forced marches of several days, was excessive. At day-break, however, the main body of the detachment reached the fort, and were received with that ardent welcome by its inmates, which the greatness of the danger, and the exertions which the detachment had made to save it, naturally inspired. The French commander, astonished at the news of their entrance, and now despairing of success, marched away for Pondicherry the following day².

¹ Cambridge, p 140

² Orme, ii 197—217, Cambridge's War in India, pp 137—153, Wilks' Historical Sketches of the South of India, pp 392, 393

BOOK IV

CHAP IV

1 57

Intelligence of the march of the French against Trichinopoly and of the repulses sustained by their own troops, in the two assaults upon Madura and Nellore, reached the Presidency of Madras at nearly the same time. They recalled immediately the detachment from Nellore sent as many troops as possible into the field and were uncertain whether to relieve Trichinopoly they should recall the French to the defence of their own settlements, or march to attack them before the place when the welcome news arrived of the fact and consequences of Calliaud's return. To possess and garrison the forts which were scattered over the country and which, by commanding the adjacent districts, afforded the only chance of revenue, was a principal object of desire to both contending parties. Several transactions took place about this time, relating to places of minor importance; but Wandewash was a fortress to the reduction of which peculiar value was attached. The Governor of Wandewash had paid no revenue since 1752 he had perpetually favoured the French, who from that station had been enabled to make incursions into every part of the province it not only afforded a large revenue, it was also a barrier to the surrounding districts. In hopes that it might be taken before the French army could arrive from Trichinopoly to its relief, the English commander sent to the attack was ordered to push his operations with the greatest vigour. He got possession of the town, which was contiguous to the fort, after a slight resistance. The French, however were now hastening to its relief and Colonel Aldercron, whose march had not displayed any wonderful despatch, thought it prudent to renounce the enterprise before they arrived. At his departure he set fire to the defenceless town though no peculiar circumstance is alleged to justify an act so cruel to the innocent inhabitants.

The English Presidency to whom the Nabobship of Arcot continued as yet but little productive, were straitened in their treasury. Anxious therefore to diminish expense, they gave directions, upon hearing that the army had retired from Wandewash, for its proceeding immediately to the Presidency. Unhappily the enemy were in the field, of which they were thus left entirely the masters; and they performed a successful incursion as far as Conjo-

veram, where they burned the town, to revenge the outrage committed upon Wandewash. The Presidency, now aware of their blunder, ordered back the army into the field. The two armies were nearly equal. The English offered battle, but the French kept within their intrenchments. The English, after remaining in their presence for some weeks, retired again at the end of July, and marched to the several stations from which they had been drawn. The French were no sooner masters of the field, than they renewed their incursions, collected the revenues, and levied contributions in several districts.

1757

A pressure was now sustained of another description. The Mahratta general Balajee Row had paid a visit of exaction to the kingdom of Mysore the preceding season, and, upon marching back to his own country, before the period of the rains, left an officer with a large detachment, who, after taking several intervening forts, made himself master of one of the passes into the Carnatic, about sixty miles north-west from the city of Arcot, and sent a peremptory demand of the chout for the whole nabobship. The city of Arcot was thrown into the utmost alarm. The Nabob dreaded the incursion of Mahratta parties into the very town, and accepted the invitation of the English to send his family to Madras. The Mahrattas pretended that the chout had been settled by Nizam al Mulk, at 600,000 rupees a year, two thirds for the Carnatic, and one for Trichinopoly and the southern dependencies. Of this they asserted that six years were due, and presented their demand, in the whole, at 4,000,000 of rupees. The Nabob, who knew the weakness of his physical, if not of his intellectual resources, was glad to negotiate. After much discussion, the Mahratta agent consented to accept of 200,000 rupees, in ready money, and the Nabob's draughts upon the governors of forts and polygars for 250,000 more. To these terms the Nabob agreed, but he required that the money should be found by the English, and should be furnished out of the revenues which he had assigned to them for the expenses of the war. At this time the English might have obtained important assistance against the Mahrattas. Morari Row, and the Patan Nabobs of Savanore, Canoul, Candanore, and Cudapa, who, since the assassination of Nazir Jung, had maintained a sort of

BOOK IV independence, offered their alliance. But the English
 CHAP IV could spare no troops, and were as much afraid to admit
 such allies into the province as the Mahrattas themselves.
 1757 After as much delay and evasion as possible, they were
 induced, notwithstanding the danger of the precedent, in
 fear of greater evils, to comply with the demand.

During all this period, the attention of the Presidency of Madras may be considered as chiefly divided between two objects—the French in the Carnatic, and the Polygars of Madura and Tinivelly. When Callaud was obliged to march from Madura for the defence of Trichinopoly he left about sixty Europeans, and upwards of 1000 Sepoys, who were not inactive and, as soon as he was convinced that no further danger was to be apprehended from the French, he despatched a reinforcement from Trichinopoly. In compliance with the recommendation of the Presidency Callaud himself, with as great a portion of the troops from Trichinopoly as it was safe to withdraw, marched on the 25th of June, and arrived at Madura on the 3rd of July. Having effected a breach on the 10th, he resolved to storm. He was repulsed with great loss. For some days the operations of the besiegers were retarded by the sickness of their leader. The admission of supplies into the town was now however, cut off and the negotiations for its surrender were renewed. After some time was spent in bargaining about the price, Callaud, on the 8th of August, on payment of 170,000 rupees, was received into the town.

On the 8th of September a French fleet of twelve ships anchored in Pondicherry road but, after landing about a thousand men, it again set sail for Mauritius. This was not the grand armament which the government of Pondicherry expected and, till the arrival of which, all operations of magnitude were to be deferred. The army however, which had been scouring the country was still in its camp at Wandewash. It was now strongly reinforced by the troops newly arrived and marched against the fort of Chittapet. The Nabob, Mohammed Ali, had a personal dislike to the Governor of Chittapet, and had infused into the English suspicions of his fidelity which improvidently diminished the efforts necessary for his support. He fell, defending his fort to the last extremity; and thus another

place of considerable importance was gained by the French BOOK IV
 From Chittapet they marched to Trincomalee, which was CHAP IV,
 abandoned by the Governor and garrison, upon their ap-
 proach After this they divided themselves into several
 detachments, and before the 6th of November, when
 they were recalled, they had reduced eight forts in the
 neighbourhood of Chittapet, Trincomalee, and Gingee,
 and established collectors in the dependent districts

1757

On the news of the arrival of the French fleet, Captain Calliaud returned to Trichinopoly, with all the Europeans, and was soon after followed by the Sepoys, who, however, went back as soon as it appeared that Trichinopoly was not in danger The Mysoreans, who had been long expected to the assistance of the confederate Polygars, arrived in the month of November, took the fort of Sholavenden, and plundered to the walls of Madura, under which they remained for several days They allowed themselves, however, to be attacked in a narrow pass, by the commander of the British Sepoys, and suffered a severe defeat In the mean time Captain Calliaud, under the safeguard of a passport from Pondicherry, repaired in person to the Presidency, to represent the state of the southern dependencies, for the reduction of which so many useless efforts had been made, and declared his opinion that the settlement of the country could not be achieved, or a revenue drawn from it, without a greater force, or the removal of Maphuz Khan It was agreed with the Nabob that an annual income, adequate to his maintenance should be offered to this his elder brother, provided he would quit the province and disband his troops Maphuz Khan, however, would listen to no terms importing less than the government of the whole country, and the confederates continued in formidable force

Though after the recall of the French troops in November, no army was in the field, the garrisons left in the several forts continued to make incursions one upon another, and mutually ravaged the unhappy country As these operations, "being always levelled at defenceless villages, carried," says Mr Orme, "the reproach of robbery, more than the reputation of war," each side, too, losing by them more than it gained, the French officer at Wandewash proposed a conference, for the purpose of

BOOK IV ending this wretched species of warfare and an English officer was authorized to conclude an agreement. The governments of Madras and Pondicherry were both now disposed to suspend their efforts—the French, till the arrival of the forces which they boasted were to render them irresistible in the Carnatic—the English, that they might husband their resources for the danger with which they were threatened. In this situation they continued till the 28th of April, when a French squadron of twelve sail arrived in the road of Fort St. David.

157

Upon the breaking out of the war between France and England in 1756, the French ministry resolved to strike an important blow in India. The Count de Lally a member of one of those Irish families, which had transported themselves into France along with James II., was appointed Commander-in-Chief of all the French forces in India. He had distinguished himself in the battle of Fontenoy where he took several English officers with his own hand, and received the rank of Colonel from the King upon the field of battle it was he who proposed the daring plan of landing in England with 10,000 men, while the Prince, Charles Edward, was trying his fortune for a crown in another part of the island and his hatred of the English, and his reputation for courage, now pointed him out as the fittest person to crush the pretensions of that nation on the coast of Coromandel. He was accompanied by his own regiment of Irish, 1080 strong by fifty of the royal artillery and a great number of officers of distinction. They left the port of Brest on the 4th of May 1757 when a malignant fever raged in the town, of which they carried the infection along with them No fewer than 300 persons died in the fleet before they reached Rio Janeiro, where they remained for two months, and after all, departed with a residue of the sickness on board. At Mauritius they were joined by a part of the ships which had landed the troops at Pondicherry in the preceding year and, after a tedious voyage, made the coast of Coromandel on the 26th of April, 1758.

The court of Versailles anticipated nothing but triumphs from this splendid armament and the presumption of Lally well assorts with that of his government. It was even laid down in the instructions of the ministers, that

he should commence his operations with the siege of Fort St David. For this purpose, before communicating with the land, he made the fleet anchor at the place of attack.

He proceeded with two of the vessels to Pondicherry, where he arrived at five in the afternoon,¹ and before the night closed he had 1000 Europeans, and as many Sepoys, on their march to Fort St David. In military operations, notwithstanding the importance of despatch, something more than despatch is necessary. The troops marched

BOOK IV
CHAP IV
1758

without provisions, and with unskilful guides, who led them astray, and brought them to Fort St David at seven o'clock in the morning, worn out with hunger and fatigue.² This gave them a motive and an apology for commencing a system of plunder and insubordination, from which they could not easily be recalled.

These troops had scarcely arrived at Fort St David, when the ships in the road descried the English fleet making way from the south. Mr Pococke, with the ships of war from Bengal, had arrived at Madras on the 24th of February, on the 24th of the following month a squadron of five ships from Bombay had arrived under Admiral Stevens, and on the 17th of April, the whole sailed to the southward, looking out for the French. Having in ten days worked as high to the windward as the head of Ceylon, they stood in again for the coast, which they made, off Negapatnam, on the 28th, and proceeding along shore, discovered the French fleet, at nine the next morning, riding near Cuddalore. The French immediately weighed, and bore down towards Pondicherry, throwing out signals to recall the two ships which had sailed with Lally, and the English Admiral gave the signal for chase. The summons for the two ships not being answered, the French

¹ He himself complains that little preparation was made to co-operate with him. Among the proofs of carelessness, one was that he was saluted with five discharges of cannon, loaded with ball, of which three pierced the ship through and through, and the two others damaged the rigging. *Mémoire pour Lally*, i. 39.

² Lally complains, and with good reason, of the deplorable ignorance of the French Governor and Council. They could not tell him the amount of the English forces on the coast, nor whether Cuddalore was surrounded with a dry wall or a rampart, nor whether there was any river to pass between Pondicherry and Fort St David. He complains that he lost forty-eight hours at Cuddalore, because there was not a man at Pondicherry who could tell him that it was open on the side next the sea, that he was unable to find twenty-four hours' provisions at Pondicherry, and that the Governor, who promised to forward a portion to him on the road, broke his word; whence the troops were two days without food, and some of them died. *Ibid* 40, 41.

BOOK IV fleet stood out to sea, and formed the line of battle. The
CHAP IV French consisted of nine sail, the English only of seven,

1758. The battle was indecisive—the loss of a few men, with some
 damage to the ships, being only the result. Both fleets
 fell considerably to leeward during the engagement and
 the French were six days in working up to the road of
 Pondicherry where the troops were landed. Lally himself
 had some days before proceeded to Fort St. David
 with the whole force of Pondicherry and the troops from
 the fleet were sent after him, as fast as they came on
 shore.

The English were thrown into the greatest alarm. So much was the power of the enemy now superior to their own, that they scarcely anticipated any other result, than their expulsion from the country and had Dupleix been still the guide and conductor of the enemy's affairs, it is more than probable that their most gloomy apprehensions would have been realized. Not only had an overwhelming addition been made to a force, against which they had previously found it difficult to maintain themselves but in the meantime, Bussy in the northern parts of the Deccan, had obtained the most important advantages, and brought upon the English the heaviest disaster. After the brilliant exploit of 1756, when he defended himself at Hyderabad against the whole power of the Subahdar, and imposed his own terms upon his enemies, he had proceeded to the Northern Circars, where his presence was necessary to collect the revenues, and, by an adjustment of the government, to provide for the future regularity of their payment. He began his march on the 16th of November of that year with 500 Europeans and 4000 Sepoys leaving only a small detachment to attend to the person of the Subahdar. In accomplishing his progress through

A French ship was driven on shore, and obliged to be abandoned; but this was owing to an accident after the battle.

Lord Clive himself said, in his evidence before the Committee, in 1773:—
 "Mr. Lally arrived with forces so circumstanced not only the destruction of all
 the settlements there, but of all the East India Company's possessions, and
 nothing saved Madras from sharing the fate of Fort St. David, at that time,
 but their want of money which gave time for strengthening and reinforcing
 the place. Report, at supers.

Orme (R. [c]) says he left 100 Europeans and 1800 Sepoys. Willes
 (Histor. Sketches, p. 267) says he left 200 Europeans and 400 Sepoys. Orme
 again (Ibid. p. 264) speaks of the detachment as consisting of 300 Europeans
 and 500 Sepoys.

the country, he encountered no considerable resistance BOOK IV.
 The Polygai of Bobilee defended his fort to the last extremity, and exhibited the customary spectacle of Hindu desperation, the fortress in flames, and the people in garrison butchered by their own hands — But he was excited to this desperation by the command to exchange the government of his present for that of another district, on account of the annoyance he gave to a neighbouring chief, from whom Bussy had received a train of important services. When Bussy had nearly completed the arrangement which he intended to make, he received, about the 1st of April, letters from Suraj-ad-dowla, inviting him, by the largest offers, to assist him in expelling the English from Bengal. Bussy waited on his northern frontier, ready to march through Orissa into Bengal, as soon as he should receive satisfactory intelligence, but, learning the capture of Chandernagor, and the imbecility of the Subahdar, he changed his purpose, and proceeded to the attack of the English establishments within the Circars. There were three factories, on three different branches of the Godavery, in a district remarkable for the excellence and cheapness of its cloths. They were places of no strength, and surrendered on the first requisition. Vizagapatam, however, was one of the places of greatest importance belonging to the English in India. It was a fort, garrisoned by 150 Europeans, and 300 Sepoys, but so injudiciously constructed, that the attempt to defend it was unanimously determined to be vain. The van of Bussy's army appeared before it on the 24th of June, and a capitulation was concluded, that all the Europeans, both military and civil, should be regarded as prisoners, and all the effects of the Company as prize of war. The Sepoys, and other natives, Bussy allowed to go where they pleased, he also promised to respect the property of individuals. "And he kept his word," says Mr Orme, "with the utmost liberality, resigning, without discussion, whatsoever property any one claimed as his own."

During these transactions, however, a great revolution was preparing in the army of Salabut Jung. He had two younger brothers, whom Bussy, acquainted with the temper of Oriental governments, had advised the Subahdar to provide with establishments, and every indul-

CHAP IV

1758.

BOOK IV genee suitable to their rank, but from whom he had exhorted him carefully to withhold those governments and places of power which, in the hands of the near relations of the prince, were the cause of so many revolutions in India. This prudent course was pursued till the period of the alienation from Bussy of the mind of the Subahdar when that prince was easily persuaded, by his designing courtiers, to reverse the policy which the sagacity of Bussy had established. The eldest of the two brothers, Basalut Jung, was appointed Governor of the strong fort and country of Adoni and Nizam Ali, the youngest and most dangerous, was made Governor of Berar, the most extensive province of the Deccan, of which the Mahrattas now possessed the principal part.

Towards the end of the year 1757 while a body of Mahrattas insulted Aurungabad, which was then the residence of the Subahdar a mutiny under the usual shape of clamour for pay was excited in his army. The utmost alarm was affected by the Dewan, or minister who took shelter in a strong fort. The Subahdar without resources, was driven to dismay. Nizam Ali, who had acquired some reputation, and intrigued successfully with the troops, offered to interpose and allay the tumult, provided the requisite powers, and among other things the great seal of the Subah, were committed to his hands the requisition was obeyed and Nizam Ali, leaving only the name of Subahdar to his brother grasped the whole powers of the state. With an affectation of indifference he committed the seal to his brother Basalut Jung, but under sufficient security that it would be used agreeably to his directions.

Bussy received intelligence of these events in the beginning of January immediately began his march with the whole of his army and by a road never travelled before by European troops, arrived in twenty-one days at Aurungabad, a distance by the perambulator of nearly

"There are some important differences between Orme's account of these events, and that given by the biographer of Shahzada Khan, the dewan or minister of Basalut Jung. The dismember was real, and the service only served his life by flying to Dowlatabad. Basalut Jung was concerned in the disturbance, but the other brother Khan Ali, was not on the spot, nor did he join his brother for two or three months. The result of his junction was that Khan Ali was declared heir and successor of Falakat described in the text. Khan Ali was declared heir and successor of Falakat described in the text. Khan Ali was declared heir and successor of Falakat described in the text. Khan Ali was declared heir and successor of Falakat described in the text. Calcutta Magazine, Dec. 1833.—W

400 miles¹ Four separate armies were encamped about the city, that of Nizam Ali from Berar, that of the Subah, of which Nizam Ali had now the command, that of Bassalut Jung from Adoni; and that of the Mahrattas commanded by Balajee Row. The presence of Bussy, with his handful of Europeans, imposed respect upon them all, and every eye was fixed upon his movements. His first care was to restore the authority of the Subahdar, whom the presence alone of the French detachment, which had vigilantly guarded his person, had probably saved from the assassination which generally forms the main ingredient of Indian revolutions.

The two brothers at first assumed a high tone, and when obliged to part with the seal, exhibited unusual marks of rage and indignation. Bussy clearly saw that the safety of the Subahdar, and the existence of the present government, demanded the resumption of the power which had been intrusted to Nizam Ali, but when the proposition of a large pension was made to him in lieu of his government, he had the art to interest his troops in his behalf, and Bussy found it necessary to temporize. To remove still further the umbrage which he found was gaining ground at the uncontrollable authority with which a stranger disposed of the powers of the Deccan, and of the sons of the great Nizam al Mulk, he re-committed the seal of state to Bassalut Jung, but under securities which precluded any improper use.

To provide a permanent security for his predominating influence in the government of the Subah, there was wanting, besides the distant provinces which yielded him the necessary revenue, a place of strength near the seat of government, to render him independent of the sudden machinations of his enemies. The celebrated fortress of Dowlatabad, both from locality and strength, was admirably adapted to his views. It was at present in possession of the prime minister, the mortal foe of Bussy, the chief actor in the late commotions, and the assured instrument of others in every hostile design. By a sum of money, Bussy gained the Deputy Governor to admit him secretly with his troops into the fort and this invaluable instru-

¹ Mr Orme states the days on report merely, but we may presume it was the best information which that careful historian could procure.

BOOK IV ment of power was gained without the loss of a man. As
 CHAPTER IV the utmost efforts, however, of the resentment of the
 minister were now assured, Bussy secured the means of

1758.

rendering him a prisoner in the midst of the camp of the Subahdar, at the very hour when he himself was received into the fort Dowlatabad. These events alarmed Nizam Ali into submission; and an accommodation was effected, by which he agreed to divest himself of his government of Berar and accept of Hyderabad in its stead. When holding his court, to receive the compliments of the principal persons, before his departure for his new government, he was waited upon, among others, by Hyder Jung, the Dewan of Bussy. This personage¹ was the son of a Governor of Masulipatam, who had been friendly to the French and he had attached himself to Bussy since his first arrival at Golconda. Bussy was soon aware of his talents, and discovered the great benefit he might derive from them. He became a grand and dexterous instrument for unravelling the plots and intrigues against which it was necessary for Bussy to be incessantly on his guard and a no less consummate agent in laying the trains which led to the accomplishment of Bussy's designs. To give him the greater weight with his countrymen, and more complete access to the persons and the minds of the people of consequence, he obtained for him titles of nobility dignities, and riches and enabled him to hold his Durbar like the greatest chiefs. He was known to have been actively employed in the late masterly transactions of Bussy and an occasion was chosen, on which a blow might be struck, both at his life, and that of Salabut Jung. A day was appointed by the Subahdar for paying his devotions at the tomb of his father distant about twenty miles from Aurungabad and on the second day of his absence, Nizam Ali held his court. Hyder Jung was received with marked respect but, on some pretext, detained behind the rest of the assembly and assassinated. The first care of Bussy upon this new emergency was to strengthen the slender escort of Salabut Jung. The next was to

¹ His original name was Abd-al-Rahman, he was taken whilst young to Pondicherry, and early employed as interpreter to Bussy's detachment, in which capacity he gained the confidence of that officer. Life of Shahrukh Khan.—W

secure the person of the late minister,¹ of whose share BOOK IV.
in the present perfidy he had no doubt, and whom he had CHAP IV
hitherto allowed to remain under a slight restraint in the
camp. That veteran intriguer, concluding that his life
was in danger, excited his attendants to resist, and was
slain in the scuffle Struck with dismay, upon the news
of this unexpected result, Nizam Ali abandoned the camp
in the night, taking with him his select cavalry alone, and
pursued his flight towards Boorhanpore, about 150 miles
north from Aurungabad, with all the speed which the
horses could endure Thus was Bussy delivered from his
two most formidable enemies, by the very stroke which
they had aimed against him, and in this state of uncon-
trollable power in the wide-extended government of the
Deccan, was he placed, when the arrival of Lally produced
an extraordinary change in his views, and ensured a new
train of events in the Subah

The character of that new Governor was ill adapted to the circumstances in which he was appointed to act Ardent and impetuous, by the original structure of his mind, his early success and distinction had rendered him vain and presumptuous

With natural talents of considerable force, his know-
ledge was scanty and superficial Having never ex-
perienced difficulties, he never anticipated any For him
it was enough to will the end, the means obtained an
inferior portion of his regard Acquainted thoroughly
with the technical part of the military profession, but
acquainted with nothing else, he was totally unable to
apply its principles in a new situation of things Unac-
quainted with the character and manners of the people
among whom he was called upon to act, he was too ig-
norant of the theory of war to know, that on the manage-

¹ According to the Mazir al Omra, whence the biography of Shahnawaz Khan is derived, he was already in confinement through the treachery of Hyder Jung, who was plotting, it is asserted, the arrest of Nizam Ali, when he paid that prince the visit in the course of which he was murdered Upon the death of Hyder Jung, the prince mounted his horse and fled, and in the alarm which these occurrences excited amongst the French, some of Bussy's attendants hastened to the place where the minister was confined, and killed him, along with his youngest son, and another of Salabut Jung's chief officers, Yamin-ad-dowlah The native historian is, no doubt, misled by his prejudices, in ascribing to the French commandant any share, however indirect, in the assassination of the dewan, but had Clive been implicated in any similar transaction, it is very probable that the English historian would have given a very different account of it —W

BOOK IV ment of his intellectual and moral instruments, the
 CHAPTER IV success of the general mainly depends.

1758. He began by what he conceived a very justifiable act of authority ; but which was in reality a cruel violation of the customs, the religion, and, in truth, the legal rights of the natives. As there was not at Pondicherry of the persons of the lower castes, who are employed in the servile occupations of the camp, a sufficient number to answer the impatience of M. Lally in forwarding the troops to Fort St. David, he ordered the native inhabitants of the town to be pressed, and employed, without distinction of caste, in carrying burdens, and performing whatever labour might be required. The terror and consternation created by such an act, was greater than if he had set fire to the town and butchered every man whom it contained. The consequence was, that the natives were afraid to trust themselves in his power and he thus ensured a deficiency of attendants.¹

The feeble bullocks of the country and the smallness of the number which the Governor and Council of Pondicherry were able to supply but ill accorded with Lally's ideas of a sufficiency of draught cattle. The very depressed state of the treasury precluded the possibility of affording other facilities, the want of which his impatience rendered a galling disappointment. He vented his uneasiness in reproaches and complaints. He had carried out in his mind one of those wide and sweeping conclusions, which men of little experience and discrimination are apt to form that his countrymen in India were universally rogues. And to this sentiment, that ignorance and avidity at home, which recalled Dupleix, were well calculated to

¹ This, at least, is stated by the English historians, and by the numerous and too successful enemies of Lally. In the original correspondence, there is no proof that I can perceive. In one of Lally's letters (to De Leyrit, 18th of May) he presses him to prevail upon the inhabitants of Pondicherry by extra rewards, to lend their assistance. This looks not like a general order to impress the inhabitants. The truth is, that he himself brings charges, which were too well founded, of oppression committed by others against the natives. In his letter to De Leyrit, 29th of May 1758, he says, "J'espérai que dans votre civil et dans votre militaire, il se trouveront des volontaires vaillans des gens du pays qui les éloigneront et les empêcheront de vous faire les insinuations nécessaires à la substance de l'accusation." Lally says, in his Mémoire, p. 50, "Des employés du Régiment Des Vaux, protégé par le Régiment de Leyrit, arrivèrent des provisions qui arrivoient au camp, et exigeaient de l'argent des noirs, pour leur accorder la liberté du passage. Un de ces brigands avoit été pris en flagrant délit. On arott aussi sur lui un sac plein d'espèces et de petits joyaux calavrés aux payement."

conduct him. The Directors had told him in their instructions, "As the troubles in India have been the source of fortunes, rapid and vast, to a great number of individuals, the same system always reigns at Pondicherry, where those who have not yet made their fortune hope to make it by the same means, and those who have already dissipated it hope to make it a second time. The Sieur de Lally will have an arduous task to eradicate that spirit of cupidity, but it would be one of the most important services which he could render to the Company"¹. Every want, therefore, which he experienced, every delay which occurred, he ascribed to the dishonesty and misconduct of the persons employed,² and had so little prudence as incessantly to declare those opinions in the most pointed and offensive terms which his language could supply. These proceedings rendered him in a short time odious to every class of men in the colony, precluded all cordial co-operation, and ensured him every species of ill-office which it was safe to render. The animosity at last between him and his countrymen became rancour and rage; and the possibility of a tolerable management of the common concerns was utterly destroyed.

On the 1st of May, Lally himself arrived at Fort St. David, and when joined by the troops from the ships, and those whom he had drawn from the forts in the Carnatic, he had, according to Mr Orme, 2500 Europeans, exclusive of officers, and about the same number of Sepoys, assembled for the attack. The garrison consisted of 1600 natives, and 619 Europeans, of whom eighty-three were sick or infirm, and 250 were seamen.³ The place

¹ Mém pour Lally, p 21 In their letter of the 20th March, 1759, they say, "Vous voudrez bien prendre en considération l'administration des affaires de la Compagnie, et l'origine des abus sans nombre que nous y voyons. Un despotisme absolu nous paroit la première chose à corriger"—They add, "Nous trouvons par tout des preuves de la prodigalité la plus outrée, et du plus grand désordre"

² There is no doubt at all, that the neglect of all preparation, to enable him to act with promptitude, though they had been expecting him at Pondicherry for eight months, was extreme, and to the last degree culpable. There was a total want of talent at this time at Pondicherry, a weak imagination that the expected armament was to do everything, and that those who were there before had no occasion to do anything, otherwise, with the great superiority of force they had enjoyed since the arrival of the 1000 Europeans, in the beginning of September, they might have performed actions of no trifling importance, and have at least prepared some of the money and other things requisite for the operations of Lally.

³ Orme Lally (Mém p 42) says, "Il y avoit dans le Fort de Saint David sept cent Européens, et environ deux mille Clipayes. Les troupes du Comte de

BOOK IV held out till the 1st of June, when, having nearly expended
CHAP IV its ammunition, it yielded on capitulation. It was ex-

158.

pected to have made a better defence; and the English historians have not spared the conduct of the commanding officer. He had courage and spirit in sufficient abundance but was not very rich in mental resources, or very accurate in ascertaining the conductiveness of his means. In consequence of instructions brought from France, Lally immediately issued orders for raising the fortifications to the ground. As soon as the fort capitulated, he sent a detachment against Devi-Cotah, which the garrison immediately abandoned and on the 7th of June, he returned with the army in triumph, and sung *To Arms at Pondicherry*.

The English, in full expectation that the next operation of Lally would be the siege of Madras, had called in the troops from all the forts in the interior except Trichinopoly; and had even debated whether they should not abandon that city itself. All the troops from Tinivelly and Madura were ordered to return to Trichinopoly and, together with the garrison, to hold themselves in readiness for any emergency.

The great poverty however of the French exchequer, and the inability created or greatly enhanced by the unpopular proceedings of Lally of supplying its deficiencies by credit, cramped his operations, and sharpened the asperities of his temper. He had written from Fort St. David to the Governor of Pondicherry in the following terms "This letter shall be an eternal secret between you, Sir and me, if you afford me the means of accomplishing my enterprise. I left you 100,000 livres of my own money to aid you in providing the funds which it requires. I found not, upon my arrival, in your purse, and in that of your whole council, the resource of 100 pence. You, as well as they have refused me the support of your credit. Yet I imagine you are all of you more

Lally constingut en seize centaines, et six centaines autres, tout cavalerie qui puisse servir, ramassé à la hâte. Son régiment qui avait essayé un combat de deux ou il avait perdu quatre-vingt-quatre hommes, et à qui on écrivit demander qu'il pût être débarqué à Pondicherry (les quarante-huit heures de repos, depuis son débarquement à Pondicherry) que quarante-huit hommes de repos, depuis le point où il fut débarqué deux piqûres. Il est à peine à reconnaître, que ce statement of facts was made in the face of Lally's execrable and bitter accusations.

indebted to the Company than I am. If you continue to BOOK IV.
leave me in want of everything, and exposed to contend CHAP. IV.
with universal disaffection, not only shall I inform the
King and the Company of the warm zeal which their
servants here display for their interest, but I shall take
effectual measures for not depending, during the short
stay I wish to make in this country, on the party spirit
and the personal views with which I perceive that every
member appears occupied, to the total hazard of the Com-
pany".¹

1758.

Despairing of funds from any other source, he resolved to devote to this object the next operations of the war.² He at the same time recalled Bussy, against whose character he fostered the strongest prejudices, and the importance of whose transactions under the Subahdar he treated as interested pretence and imposture.

Two plans presented themselves for the supply of his wants. All the western and northern districts of the Nabobship, evacuated by the English, lay open to his incursions, and in the rents which might be collected offered a certain resource. But the collection of rents was a tedious operation, and the expected produce a scanty supply. The King of Tanjore, when pressed in 1751 by Chunda Saheb and the French, had, among his other efforts to procrastinate and evade, given his bond, which still remained at Pondicherry, for 5,600,000 rupees. This sum, could it only be extorted from him, was a large and present resource, and in Fort St David, as a prisoner, had been found the pretender to the throne of Tanjore, who

¹ Mémoire, ut supra, Pièces Justificatives, p 30 De Leyrit defended himself by asserting the want of means "Je vous rendrai compte," says he, "de ma conduite, et de la disette de fonds dans laquelle on m'a laissé depuis deux ans, et je compte vous faire voir que j'ai fait à tous égards plus qu'on ne devoit attendre de moi Mes ressources sont aujourd'hui épuisées, et nous n'en avons plus à attendre que d'un succès Où en trouverois-je de suffisantes dans un pays ruiné par quinze ans de guerre, pour fournir aux dépenses considérables de votre armée et aux besoins d'une escadre, par laquelle nous attendions bien des espèces de secours, et qui se trouve au contraire denue de tout?" Ibid. No 20 Lett du Sieur De Leyrit au Comte de Lally, 24th May 1758 Lally, however, asserts that he had received two millions of livres by the arrival of the fleet Mém p 49

² This at least is the account of the English historians Lally himself says, that it was his own design to proceed directly from Fort St David to Madras, but the commander of the fleet absolutely refused to co-operate with him, would go upon a cruise to the south, for the purpose of intercepting such vessels as might arrive from England, and carried with him the detachment which Lally had put on board to prevail upon him to trust himself again at sea after the first engagement. Mém p 57

BOOK IV might now be employed as an instrument to frighten the
 CHAP IV Rajah into compliance. The expedition against Tanjore
 was accordingly undertaken and on the 18th of June
 1758 Lally took the field.

From the terror of the natives, the alienation of the Europeans, and the want of money the equipment of the expedition, in attendants, draught cattle, and even provisions and ammunition, was in the highest degree defective. In seven days the army arrived at Carical, not without suffering, at this early stage, both from fatigue and from hunger. At this place Lally was met by a messenger from the King, who was desirous to treat. Lally understood, that some of his predecessors had been duped into impolitic delay by the artful negotiations of the King of Tanjore. He resolved to display superior wisdom, by a conduct directly the reverse. He proceeded to Nagore, a town accounted rich, about four miles to the north of Negapatnam but the merchants had time to remove their most valuable effects, and the acquisition yielded only a trifle. On the 28th he arrived at Kiveloor the seat of a celebrated Pagoda, which eastern exaggeration represented as containing enormous riches, the accumulated offerings of the piety of ages had it been plundered by a Mohammedan conqueror and the transaction recorded by a Persian historian, he would have described his hero as bearing away in his fortunate chariot, a mountain of gold. Under the vulgar persuasion, Lally ransacked, and even dug the houses dragged the tanks, and took away the idols but no treasures were found, and the idols, instead of gold were only of brass. Six unhappy Brahmins lingered about the camp, in hopes, it is probable, of recovering some of their beloved divinities. The suspicions of Lally took them for spies his violence and precipitation took his

Lally repeats with what regret he postponed the siege of Madras; and observes that it was by earnest representations of the Governor, and the Jesuit Levaux (missionary of most intriguing spirit, who had contrived to gain vast influence in the Councils of Pondicherry), that he undertook the expedition to Tanjore. *M. d'U. p. 61.*

Lally was, of course, obliged to trust to the information of those accredited with the country; and the letters of Levaux and De Leyrit, make it abundantly appear that they exaggerated beyond measure the difficulties of the undertaking; and made him set out upon representations which they knew to be false, and promises which were never intended to be fulfilled. In fact, it would have required cooler and more fertile head than that of Lally to counteract the malignity, to stimulate the indifference, and to supply the enormous deficiencies, by which he was surrounded.

suspicions for realities, and he ordered the six Brahmens BOOK IV.
to be treated as the Europeans are accustomed to treat the CHAP IV
natives convicted as spies, that is, to be shot away from
the muzzles of the guns The King's army took the field,
and after a slight show of resistance, retreated to the
capital, near which Lally arrived on the 18th of July
Conferences ensued The King offered a sum of money,
but greatly inferior to what was required Lally offered to
abate in his pecuniary demand, provided he were furnished
with 600 bullocks, and a supply of gunpowder His
agents were more prudent than himself, and suppressed
the article of gunpowder, the deficiency of which, if known
to the King, was not likely to improve his disposition to
compliance, and the bullocks, the King observed, that his
religion did not permit him to grant The cannonade and
bombardment began After a few days, the King renewed
his efforts for an accommodation. The obliquities of
Eastern negotiation wore out the temper of Lally, and he
threatened to carry the King and all his family slaves to
Mauritius This outrage produced in the Hindu a final
resolution to defend himself to the last extremity He
had early, among his applications for assistance, implored
the co-operation of the English, and Captain Calliaud at
Trichinopoly was commissioned to make all those efforts
in his favour which his own security might appear to
allow That officer sent to him without delay a small
detachment, which might feed his hopes of a more efficient
support, and afford him no apology for making his peace
with the French. But he was afraid to intrust him with
any considerable portion of his troops, fully aware that the
French might at any time make with him an accommoda-
tion, and receive his assistance to destroy the very men
who had come to protect him Upon this last occurrence
Calhaud inferred that the time for accommodation was
elapsed, and sent an additional detachment Lally con-
tinued his operations, and on the 7th of August effected a
breach

At this time, however, only 150 charges of powder for
the cannon, not twenty cartouches a man for the troops,
and not provisions for two days, remained in the camp¹

¹ This is the statement of Orme (ii 27) That of Lally is, "qu'il ne restoit
au parc d'artillerie que trois milliers de poudre pour les canons, et vingt coups

BOOK IV The next morning intelligence was received that the English fleet, after a fresh engagement with the French, had anchored before Carical, from which alone the French army could derive its supplies. Lally summoned a council of war. Out of thirteen officers, two, the Count d'Estaign, and M. Saubinet, advised an immediate assault, considering the success as certain, and the landing of the English at Carical, while the French fleet kept the sea, as highly improbable. It was determined, in conformity with the opinion of the other eleven, to raise the siege. Intelligence of this resolution of the enemy and of the negligence and security in which they encamped, encouraged the Tanjorines to attempt a surprise; which brought Lally and his army into imminent danger. After a disastrous march, in which they suffered severely from the enemy from fatigue, and from famine, they arrived on the 28th at Carical, and saw the English fleet at anchor off the mouth of the river.

After the first of the naval engagements, the English fleet, before they could anchor were carried a league to the north of Sadras; the French, which had suffered less in the rigging, and sailed better anchored fifteen miles to the windward. The English, as soon as possible, weighed again, and after a fruitless endeavour to reach Fort St. David, discovered the French fleet on the 28th of May in the road of Pondicherry. The next day the French, at the remonstrance of Lally who sent on board a considerable body of troops, got under sail; but instead of bearing down on the English, unable to advance against the wind, proceeded to Fort St. David, where they arrived on the evening after the surrender. The English sailing

per soldier ex cartridges. He adds, that he had no other balls for the canons but those which were shot by the enemy, of which few corresponded with the calibre of his guns; that twenty-four hours' battering were still requisite to make the breach practicable; that he had but few days' provisions for the European part of his army, while the native part and the attendants were entirely without provisions, and had, the greater part of them, deserted. *Mém. ut supra*, p. 72.

Lally says, that he had at the same time received a letter from the commanding officer at Pondicherry announcing that body of 1,200 English, who had marched from Madras, were marching to Pondicherry; and one from Oropal, now the Maharatna, threatening with visit the territory of the French. If their army did not immediately evacuate Tanjore. *Mém. p. 72.*

¹ Notwithstanding their hardships and fatigues, Lally asserts that they lost but little. *Ibid. p. 81.*

BOOK IV D'Estaing offered to accompany him on board, with any
 proportion of the troops. Lally himself moved with the
 army from Carical on the 24th of August, and, having
 passed the Coleroon, hurried on with a small detachment
 to Pondicherry where he arrived on the 28th. He immediately summoned a mixed council of the administration and the army who joined in a fresh expostulation to the Admiral on the necessity of repairing to Madras, where the success of an attack must altogether depend upon the union of the naval and military operations. That commander representing his ships as in a state of the greatest disablement, and his crews extremely enfeebled and diminished by disease, would yield to no persuasion, and set sail with his whole fleet for Mauritius on the 2nd of September.¹

If we trust to the declaration of Lally his intention of besieging Madras, still more his hopes of taking it, were abandoned from that hour. Before the fleet departed, an expedition against Arcot, with a view to relieve the cruel pressure of those pecuniary wants which the disastrous result of the expedition to Tanjore had only augmented, was projected and prepared. Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic, had been left under the government of one of the principal officers of Mohammed Ali, the English Nabob, with a small body of Sepoys and native cavalry. With this officer Rajah Sahib, (the eldest son of the late Chunda Sahib,) now decorated by the French with the title of Nabob, had opened a correspondence and a treaty was concluded, according to which the Governor was to deliver up the place, to receive as a reward 13,000 rupees, and to be taken, along with his troops, into the pay and service of Lally. As auxiliary measures, the previous possession of the secondary forts of Trivatore, Trincomalee, Carangoly and Timery was deemed expedient. Lally divided his army into four parts, to two of which the forts of Carangoly and Timery surrendered without resistance. Trivatore and Trincomalee were taken by assault. On the

These events are minutely recorded by Orme, II. 197—302. The Sketches and Criticisms of Colonel Wilks, p. 279—290 are professional and valuable. Cambridge, p. 135—144, goes over the same ground. A spirited abstract is given, p. 96—102, by the author of the History and Management of the East India Company. For the operations of Lally, his own Memoirs, with the original documents in the Appendix, is in the highest degree instructive and interesting.

BOOK IV D'Estaing offered to accompany him on board, with any proportion of the troops. Lally himself moved with the army from Caneal on the 24th of August, and, having

15.

passed the Caleroon, hurried on with a small detachment to Pondicherry where he arrived on the 28th. He immediately summoned a mixed council of the administration and the army who joined in a fresh expostulation to the Admiral on the necessity of repairing to Madras, where the success of an attack must altogether depend upon the union of the naval and military operations. That commander representing his ships as in a state of the greatest disablement, and his crews extremely enfeebled and diminished by disease, would yield to no persuasion, and set sail with his whole fleet for Mauritius on the 2nd of September¹.

If we trust to the declaration of Lally, his intention of besieging Madras, still more his hopes of taking it, were abandoned from that hour. Before the fleet departed, an expedition against Aroot, with a view to relieve the cruel pressure of those pecuniary wants which the disastrous result of the expedition to Tanjore had only augmented, was projected and prepared. Aroot, the capital of the Carnatic, had been left under the government of one of the principal officers of Mohammed Ah, the English Nabob, with a small body of Sepoys and native cavalry. With this officer Rajah Saheb, (the eldest son of the late Chunda Saheb,) now decorated by the French with the title of Nabob, had opened a correspondence and a treaty was concluded, according to which the Governor was to deliver up the place, to receive as a reward 13,000 rupees, and to be taken, along with his troops, into the pay and service of Lally. As auxiliary measures, the previous possession of the secondary forts of Trivatore, Trincomalee, Carangoly and Timery was deemed expedient. Lally divided his army into four parts, to two of which the forts of Carangoly and Timery surrendered without resistance; Trivatore and Trincomalee were taken by assault. On the

¹ These events are minutely recorded by Orme, II. 197—222. The Sketches and Criticisms of Colonel Wilks, p. 379—394 are professional and sensible. Cambridge, p. 135—144, goes over the same ground. A spirited abstract is given p. 96—102, by the author of the History and Management of the East India Company. For the operations of Lally, his own Memoir with the original documents in the Appendix, is in the highest degree instructive and interesting.

BOOK IV would be able to make, that he could prevail upon Lally-
 CHAR IV to send him back, and with augmented force, to his impor-
 tant station. Having on his march, been joined by Mor-
 1758 acin, the Governor of Masulipatam, who with his troops was
 also recalled, he left the march to be conducted by Mor-
 acin, and under a safeguard granted him from Madras, hast-
 ened to the meeting with Lally.

The head of that General was filled with the importance of his own project, the expulsion of the English from India and with contempt for the schemes of Bussy as of all other men who had different views from his own. In his letter to Bussy upon the taking of Fort St. David, he had said, "It is the whole of British India which it now remains for us to attack. I do not conceal from you that, having taken Madras, it is my resolution to repair immediately by land or by sea, to the banks of the Ganges, where your talents and experience will be of the greatest importance to me." Bussy employed every effort to convince him of the importance of retaining the advantages which he had gained in the dominions of the Subahdar and the most pressing and passionate letters arrived from the Subahdar himself. But Lally who had already treated the representations of Bussy as the visions of a madman, and had told the Governor of Pondicherry that he thought himself too condescending in reading his letters, lent a deaf ear to remonstrances which inwardly he regarded as the fruit of delusion or impostura. Apprized of the money which Dupleix had raised on his personal credit, he was not without hopes that Bussy might be possessed of similar resources and he states as a matter of great surprise, mixed with incredulity the avowment of Bussy that in this way he was altogether incapable of aiding the general cause.

A high testimony from another quarter was yielded to the merits of Bussy. His rank as an officer was only that of Lieutenant-Colonel. Besides a Major-General, six Colonels had arrived with the army of Lally. The six Colo-

¹ Lally himself informs us, that these letters uniformly began with such expressions as these, "Envoyez M. de Bussy avec ses corps de troupes : vous serez que je ne pourrai pas m'en passer ; or, "vous serez que je ne pourrai pas faire le plaisir de M. de Bussy : renvoyez-le tout avec ses corps de troupes, etc. Mém. pour le Comte de Lally, p. 62.

Letter to De Leyrit, 28th of June, 1758. Mém. vi supra, Appen.
No. xxvii.

nels, yielding to the nobler impulses of the human mind, BOOK IV signed a requisition that Bussy might supersede them. CHAP IV
 "Their names," says Mr Oime, "highly worthy of record on this occasion, were mostly of ancient and noble descent, d'Estaing, de Landivisiau, de la Faire, Breteuil, Veidière, and Crillon" 1758

To whatever quarter Lally turned his eyes, he found himself beset with the greatest difficulties. The government of Pondicherry declared, as they had frequently declared before, that in their exhausted situation it was altogether impossible for them to find the means of subsisting the army at Pondicheiry. When a council of war was called, the Count d'Estaing, and other officers, pronounced it better to die by a musket ball, under the ramparts of Madras, than by hunger, within those of Pondicherry. The idea of undertaking a siege, says Lally, the total want of funds excluded from the mind of every one. But it was deemed expedient to bombard the place, to shut up the English within the fort, to obtain the pillage of the black town, and to lay waste the surrounding country¹.

The Governor of Pondicherry declared that he was destitute of every species of resource, either for the pay or the maintenance of the soldiers. Lally advanced 60,000 rupees of his own money, and prevailed upon some members of the council, and other individuals in Pondicherry, to follow, in some degree, his example. From this species of contribution or loan, he obtained 34,000 rupees, which, added to his own, made a sum of 94,000. This was the treasure with which, at the head of 2700 European troops, and 4000 Indians, he marched against Madras.

The expedition was ready for its departure at the beginning of November, but the continuance of the rains retarded its arrival before Madras till the 12th of December, when Lally had not funds to ensure the subsistence of the army for a single week. The English had made active use of the intervening period for providing themselves with the means of defence. When Admiral Pocock quitted the coast in October to avoid the monsoon, he left behind him the marines of the squadron, and was expected back in January. A body of cavalry, under an adventurer of the

¹ Mém. ut supra, i 98, 100

BOOK IV country was taken into pay and so posted, along with the
 CHAPTER IV Sepoys from Trichinopoly as to make war upon the line
 of the enemy's convoys. The veteran Lawrence, who was
 still in Madras, was put at the head of the troops and
 took post with the greater part of the army on elevated
 ground at some distance from the town. It was not, how-
 ever his intention to run the risk of an action and as the
 enemy advanced, he gradually yielded ground, till on the 19th
 he entered the fort with all his army. The command in
 the fort belonged to the Governor Pigot. But he was an
 intelligent, and an active man and the harmony of the de-
 fence experienced no interruption. The military within
 the walls now consisted of 1,58 Europeans, 2220 Sepoys,
 and 200 horse of the Nabob, on whom by experience little
 dependance was placed. The other Europeans were 150
 men, who were employed without distinction in serving
 out stores, and other auxiliary operations.

1758

On the 13th the enemy remained on the plain, and reconnoitred the place. On the 14th, early in the morning, they took possession of the black town, where the soldiery from want of skill or authority on the part of their com-
 mander abandoned themselves to intemperance and dis-
 order. In hopes of profiting by this opportunity the English made a strong sally with 600 chosen men. They
 penetrated into the black town before the enemy were col-
 lected in sufficient numbers but were at last opposed by
 a force which they could not withstand and, had the divi-
 sion of the enemy which was under the command of Bussy
 advanced with sufficient promptitude to cut off their re-
 treat, it is highly probable that few of them would have
 made their escape. Lally adduces the testimony of the
 officers, who commanded under Bussy that they joined in
 urging him to intercept the English detachment but that
 he, alleging the want of cannon, absolutely refused.
 Mr Orme says that he justified himself by the delay of
 Lally's orders, without which it was contrary to his duty
 to advance. To gain, however a great advantage at a criti-
 cal moment, a zealous officer will adventure somewhat,
 under some deficiency both of cannon and of orders. The
 loss on the part of the English was not less than 200 sol-
 diers, and six officers. In mere numbers that of the
 enemy was nearly the same.

The capture of the black town had furnished to Lally BOOK IV
 for the demands of the service only 80,000 livres, lent to CHAP IV
 him by an Armenian merchant, whom he had saved from
 plunder, and to these were added 12,000 livres furnished
1758
 by a Hindu partisan. With these funds he began to con-
 struct his batteries, in the intention, as he repeats, of only
 bombarding the place, when intelligence was brought, on
 the 24th of December, that a frigate from the islands had
 arrived at Pondicherry with a million of livres. It was
 this circumstance, he says, which now determined him to
 convert the bombardment into a siege.

With only two engineers, and three artillery officers, ex-
 cepting the few who belonged to the Company, all defi-
 cient both in knowledge and enterprise, with officers in
 general dissatisfied and ill-disposed, with only the common
 men on whom he could depend, and of whose alacrity he
 never had reason to complain, he carried on the siege with
 a vigour and activity which commanded the respect even
 of the besieged, though they were little acquainted with
 the difficulties under which he toiled. By means of the
 supplies which had plentifully arrived from Bengal, and
 the time which the Presidency had enjoyed to make pre-
 paration for siege, the English were supplied with an
 abundance both of money and of stores. The resolution
 to defend themselves to the utmost extremity, which has
 seldom been shared more universally and cordially by any
 body of men, inspired them with incessant vigilance and
 activity. The industry of the enemy was perpetually
 counteracted by a similar industry on the part of their
 opponents. No sooner had those without erected a work,
 than the most active, and enterprising, and often skilful
 exertions were made from within to destroy it. Whatevei
 ingenuity the enemy employed in devising measures of at-
 tack, was speedily discovered by the keen and watchful
 eyes of the defenders. A breach, in spite of all those exer-
 tions, was however effected, and the mind of Lally was
 intensely engaged with preparations for the assault, when
 he found the officers of his army altogether indisposed to
 second his ardour. Mr Orme declares his opinion that
 then objections were founded on real and prudential con-
 siderations, and that an attempt to storm the place would

BOOK IV have been attended with repulse and disaster Lally
 CHAP IV however says that the most odious intrigues were carried
 1758. on in the army and groundless apprehensions were pro-
 pagated, to shake the resolution of the soldiers, and prevent
 the execution of the plan that the situation of the General
 was thus rendered critical in the highest degree, and
 the chance of success exceedingly diminished yet he still
 adhered to his design, and only waited for the setting of
 the moon, which in India sheds a light not much feebler
 than that of a winter sun, on the very day on which an
 English fleet of six sail arrived at Madras.

The fleet under Admiral Pocock, which had left Madras
 on the 11th of October had arrived at Bombay on the
 10th of December where they found six of the Company's
 ships, and two ships of the line with 600 of the King's
 troops on board. On the 31st of December the Company's
 ships, with all the troops, sailed from Bombay under the
 convoy of two frigates, and arrived on the 16th of February
 at a critical moment, at Madras. Words, says Lally
 "are inadequate to express the effect which the appear-
 ance of them produced. The officer who commanded in
 the trenches deemed it even inexpedient to wait for the
 landing of the enemy and two hours before receiving orders
 retired from his post.

Lally was now constrained to abandon the siege. The
 officers and soldiers had been on no more than half pay
 during the first six weeks of the expedition, and entirely
 destitute of pay during the remaining three. The expenses
 of the siege and the half pay had consumed, during the
 first month, the million livres which had arrived from the
 islands. The officers were on the allowance of the soldiers.
 The subsistence of the army for the last fifteen days had
 depended almost entirely upon some rice and butter, cap-
 tured in two small vessels from Bengal. A very small
 quantity of gunpowder remained in the camp and not a
 larger at Pondicherry. The bombs were wholly consumed
 three weeks before. The Sepoys deserted for want of pay
 and the European cavalry threatened every hour to go
 over to the enemy. The defences of Pondicherry rested
 upon 300 invalids and, within twelve hours, the English,
 with their reinforcements, might land and take possession

of the place On the night of the 17th the French army BOOK IV.
decamped from Madras , and the English made no efforts CHAP IV
to molest them retreat¹

We may judge of the feelings towards one another, of Lally and his countrymen, when he tells us, that the retreat of the army from Madras produced at Pondicherry the strongest demonstrations of joy, and was celebrated by his enemies as an occasion of triumph

1758

The Nabob, Mohammed Ali, who had retreated into Madras when the French regained the ascendancy in the province, had been removed during the siege to Trichinopoly , and of his two refractory brothers Abdul Wahab and Nujeeb Oolla, who had taken the side of the French, the former returned to the English connexion, before the siege of Madras, and was joined to the party of the English kept in the field to act upon the enemy's communications the latter, induced by the event of the siege to anticipate success to the party which he had renounced, murdered all the French in his service, except a single officer, and professed himself a partisan of the English

The English now elevated their hopes to the recovery of the province, but found their operations cramped by the narrowness of their funds It was the 6th of March before the army, consisting of 1156 Europeans, rank and file, 1570 Sepoys, 1120 collieries (irregular troops of the southern Polygars,) and 1956 horse, was in a condition to move The countries of Madura and Tinivelly at the same time recalled the attention of the Presidency No sooner had the troops been withdrawn for the defence of Madras, than the refractory chiefs began their encroachments Only the towns of Maduia and Palam-Cotah, preserved by the steadiness of the Sepoys in garrison, remained in obedience to the English And Mohammed Issoof, who had commanded with reputation the Company's native troops, in their former attempts in that country, was now sent back in the quality of renter, with a body of Sepoys, for the recovery of the country.

¹ Orme, ii 383—459, Mém pour Lally, p 99—117 Of the sick and wounded, those who were too ill to be removed, to the number of thirty-three, according to Lally's own account to that of forty-four according to Mr Orme's, were left behind, and recommended by a letter of Lally to the English commander They were treated, as Lally himself declares, with all the care which the laws, both of war and of humanity, prescribed.

BOOK IV The French army had marched from Madras in the direction of Conjeveram and there the French and English armies remained in sight of one another without any operation of importance, for two and twenty days. The English, at the end of this time, made a march upon Wandewash took possession of the town, and began to open ground against the fort. This brought the French army to defend it upon which the English decamped in the night by a forced march of two days arrived at Conjeveram, and took it by assault. The two armies continued to watch one another till the 28th of May when they both went into cantonments.

On the 28th of April, Admiral Pococks had arrived upon the coast from Bombay but had continued to windward of Pondicherry, and principally at Negapatnam, with a view to intercept the French squadron, which was expected from the island. And near the end of June three of the usual ships arrived at Madras, with 100 recruits of the Company and intelligence that Lieutenant-Colonel Coota, with 1000 of the King's troops, might be shortly expected on the coast. The satisfaction, however which this good fortune was calculated to excite, was grievously damped by an attendant piece of advice that the Court of Directors, "dazzled," as Mr Orme expresses it, by representations of the great wealth acquired by the conquest of Bengal, and of its sufficiency to supply their other predilections, had determined to send no more treasure to any of them till the year 1760. From the first moment of Indian conquests to a late period in their history were the Company led into blunders, and were but too successful in misleading the councils of the nation, by their absurd estimates of the pecuniary value of Indian dominion. This intelligence was so disastrous, and full of discouragement, "that for every reason," says Mr Orme, "it was kept within the Council."

Towards the end of July five of the expected ships, with the first division of the troops, arrived at Negapatnam, and having given out the provisions and stores which they had brought for the use of the squadron, sailed for Madras. On the 20th of August the squadron left Negapatnam, and sailed for Trincomalee, in the island of Ceylon, where the French fleet was descried, on the 2d of September D'Aché

BOOK IV marched from Conjevaram on the 26th of September. The principal part of the French forces were concentrated at Wandewash and the enterprise was unsuccessful. The English made a spirited attack on the night of the 29th, but were resisted with great gallantry and finally repulsed with a loss of more than 200 men. In this action, a detachment of grenadiers were very expeditiously quitting the vicinity of danger when their officer, instead of calling after them, an imprudence which would, in all probability have converted their retreat into a flight, ran till he got before them, and then, turning suddenly round, said, Halt, as giving the ordinary word of command. The habit of discipline prevailed. The men stopped, formed according to orders, and marched back into the scene of action. But this success of the French, however brilliant, neither clothed the men nor supplied them with provisions. Neither the English nor the French had ever been able to draw from the districts which they held in the country sufficient funds to defray the expense of the troops, employed in conquering and defending them. A considerable portion of those districts, which the French had been able to seize upon the arrival of Lally the English had again recovered. The Government of Pondicherry left almost wholly destitute of supplies from Europe, was utterly exhausted, first, by the long and desperate struggle in which they had been engaged and secondly (for the truth must not be disguised, though the complaints of Lally have long been treated with ridicule,) by the misapplication of the public funds a calamity of which the violent passion of individuals for private wealth was a copious and perennial fountain. Lally had, from his first arrival, been struggling on the borders of despair with wants which it was altogether out of his power to supply. The English had received, or were about to receive, the most important accession to their power. And nothing but the fleet, which had now arrived, and the supplies which it might have brought, could enable him much longer to contend with the difficulties which environed him.

M. d'Aché had brought, for the use of the colony 18,000L in dollars, with a quantity of diamonds, valued at 17,000L, which had been taken in an English East India

man, and, having landed these effects, together with 180 BOOK IV men, he declared his resolution of sailing again immediately for the islands CHAP IV Nothing could exceed the surprise and consternation of the colony upon this unexpected and alarming intelligence. Even those who were the most indifferent to the success of affairs, when the reputation of Lally, and the interest of their country alone were at stake, now began to tremble, when the very existence of the colony, and their interests along with it, were threatened with inevitable destruction All the principal inhabitants, civil and military, assembled at the Governor's house, and formed themselves into a national council A vehement protest was signed against the departure of the fleet But the resolution of the Admiral was inflexible, and he could only be induced to leave 400 Caffres, who served in the fleet, and 500 Europeans, partly marines and partly sailors.

1759

At the same time the departure of Bussy had been attended, in the dominions of the Subahdar, with a rapid succession of events, ruinous to the interests of the French An expedition from Bengal, fitted out by the English against the Northern Circars, those important districts of which Bussy had obtained the dominion from Salabut Jung, had been attended with the most brilliant success, had not only driven the French entirely out of the country, but had compelled the Subahdar to solicit a connexion with the English Nizam Ali, whose audacious and aspiring character rendered him extremely dangerous to the feeble resources and feebler mind of his brother, had returned from his flight, to which he had been urged by the spirit and address of Bussy, at the head of a considerable army, and compelled the Subahdar to replace him in that commanding situation, from which he had recently been driven Bassalut Jung, the second of the three brothers, who anticipated the revolution which the victorious return of Nizam Ali portended, promised himself important advantages from the assistance of the French, in the changes which he expected to ensue and despatched a letter to Lally, in which he told him he was coming to throw himself into his arms¹ Bussy urged in strong terms the policy of declaring Bassalut Jung Nabob

¹ Mem pour Lally, p 135

BOOK IV of the Carnatic. This was opposed by the step which had
 been recently taken by Lally of making this declaration,
 with much ceremony and pomp, in favour of the son of

1752.

Chunda Saheb. It was, however, agreed that a body of troops, under the command of Bussy should be sent to join Bassalut Jung, who hovered upon the borders of the Carnatic. He had left Hyderabad, under pretence of regulating the affairs of his government of Adoni; but he soon directed his march toward the south-east, supporting his army by levying contributions as he proceeded, and approached Nekore in the month of July.

M. Bussy arrived at Wandewash the very day after the repulse of the English and, having placed himself at the head of the detachment, which was destined to accompany him to the camp of Bassalut Jung, proceeded on his march. But the French army which had long been enduring extraordinary privations, now broke out in the most alarming disorders. More than a year's pay was due to them—they were destitute of clothing, and many times ill-supplied with provisions. The opinion was disseminated, that a much larger sum than was pretended had been left by the fleet and that the General was acquiring immense wealth by dilapidation. On the 16th of October the whole army was in mutiny and the officers deprived of all authority. Intelligence of these disastrous events overtook Bussy at Arcot, and induced him to suspend his march. The troops were at last restored to obedience by the payment of six months of their arrears, and a complete amnesty. But the delays which had intervened had exhausted the resources which enabled Bassalut Jung to remain on the borders of the Carnatic. He was at the same time solicited, by a promised enlargement of his territory to join with Nizam Ali, who dreaded the re-appearance of M. Bussy in the territories of the Subahdar. His ardour for the French alliance was cooled by the intelligence of the disorders among their troops—he was alarmed by the presence of an English corps of observation, which had been sent to act upon his rear if he should advance into the province and on the 19th of October he struck off across the hills into the district of Kurpa where Bussy who followed him by a different route, arrived on the 10th of November. Bassalut Jung offered to accompany the French detach-

ment to Arcot, provided he was recognised by the French BOOK IV as sovereign of the Carnatic, and furnished with four lacs ^{CHAR IV} of rupees for the payment of his troops. The French were not without objections to the first of these conditions, and altogether incapable of fulfilling the last. The negotiation, therefore, proved fruitless, and Bussy returned, with an addition, however, of 400 good horse, whom he had found the means of attaching to his service¹.

1759

Urged by the necessity of making efforts for the supply, and even subsistence, of the army, Lally, shortly after the reconciliation of his troops, thought proper to divide his army into two parts, with the one of which he proposed to collect the rents of the southern, with the other, stationed at Wandewash and Arcot, to protect what belonged to the French in the northern districts De Leyrit and the Council of Pondicherry represented the danger, which could not be concealed from Lally himself, of dividing the army in the presence of a superior enemy, but they pointed out no means by which it was possible to preserve it together. On the 20th of November, the division which marched to the south took possession of the rich island of Seringham, which the garrison at Trichinopoly was too feeble to defend.

The English took the field. Colonel Coote, with the last division of his regiment, had arrived on the 27th of October, and on the 21st of November proceeded to Conjeveram, where the troops were cantoned for the rains. The first of his acts was to assemble a council of the principal officers, that he might obtain from them a knowledge of facts, and profit by their observations. To divide the attention of the enemy, he began with movements which indicated an attack upon Arcot, but his real intention was to gain possession of Wandewash, which was attacked and carried on the 29th. The inaction of the French army, at Chittapet, which, probably deeming itself too weak, made no effort for the protection of Wandewash, induced the English to march immediately to Caran-

¹ In the account of Bussy's march, I have followed his own and Orme's account. Lally (Mém. p. 136) complains of his delays, and insinuates that to the misconduct through which these delays took place, the loss of Bassalut Jung's alliance ought to be ascribed.

BOOK IV goly which made a feeble resistance, and surrendered on
 CHAPTER IV the 10th of December

1752. The loss of Arcot, and with it the command of all the northern districts of the province, now presented itself to the eyes of Lally as threatening to an alarming degree. The greater part of the troops was hastily recalled from Serinham Bussy at the same time arrived from his expedition to the camp of Bessalut Jung a Mahratta chief and his body of horse were taken into pay and Lally was eager to strike a blow for the recovery of Wandewash.

Bussy on the other hand, was of opinion, as the French were superior in cavalry which would render it dangerous for the English to hazard a battle, except in circumstances of advantage, that they should avail themselves of this superiority by acting upon the communications of the English, which would soon compel them either to fight at a disadvantage, or retire for subsistence to Madras whereas if they besieged Wandewash, the English would have two important advantages one, that of fighting with only a part of the French army while another part was engaged in the siege the other that of choosing the advantage of the ground, from the obligation of the French to cover the besiegers.

At the same time the motives of Lally were far from groundless. The mental state of the soldiers required some brilliant exploit to raise them to the temper of animated action. He was deprived of all means of keeping the army for any considerable time in the field. By seizing the English magazines, he counted upon retarding for several days their march to the relief of Wandewash and as the English had breached the fort and taken it in forty eight hours, he counted, and not unreasonably upon rendering himself master of the place before the English could arrive.

Amusing the English, by some artful movements, he surprised and took Conjeveram, which he concluded was the place of the English magazines. The fact however was, that the English had no magazines, but were dependent on the purchases of the day and already straitened for supplies by the extensive excursions of his Mahratta horse Lally repaired to Wandewash but several days

elapsed before his battery was ready to play, and in the BOOK IV meantime the English approached Lally throws the CHAP IV blame upon his engineer, whom he ordered to batter in breach with three cannon upon one of the towers of the fort, which was only protected by the fire of a single piece, and which, five weeks before, the English with inferior means had breached in forty-eight hours But the engineers insisted upon erecting a battery in exact conformity with the rules of the schools, and the soldiers in derision asked if they were 'going to attack the fortifications of Luxemburgh'¹

1759

The project of Lally having in this manner failed, now was the time, at any rate, to have profited by the judicious advice of Bussy, and, abandoning the siege, to have made war upon the English means of supply But Lally, who was aware that his character had fallen low with the army, could not brook the imputation of retreating before his enemy, he prepared, therefore, to meet the attack of the English army, and to continue his operations. It was the policy of the English commander to leave the enemy at work, till they were ready to assault the fort, when he was sure of attacking separately, at his choice, either the troops engaged in the siege, or those who covered them His movements were judiciously made, and on the morning of the 22d, he was on the ground before the French camp, his army drawn up in two lines in a most advantageous position, where he had a free communication with the fort, and one of his flanks protected by its fire The French occupied the ground in front of their line, where the field of battle had previously been marked out The English army consisted of 1900 Europeans, of whom eighty were cavalry, 2100 Sepoys, 1250 black horse, and twenty-six field-pieces The French, including 300 marines and sailors from the squadron, consisted of 2250 Europeans, and 1300 Sepoys, for the Mahrattas kept aloof at the distance of some miles from the field of battle² Lally, and apparently with reason, com-

¹ Mémoir pour Lally, p 161, Orme (II 577) says that cannon for the battery, which did not open till the 20th, six days after Lally took possession of the Pettah or town adjoining the fort, were brought from Valdore on carriages sent from Pondicherry

² Orme, II 582 Lally (Mem p 161) gives a very different account of the respective numbers that the French had 900 infantry, 150 cavalry, 300 marines

BOOK IV

MAP IV

1759

plains that his troops did their duty ill in the action. While the English army were advancing, Lally who imagined he perceived some wavering on their left, occasioned by the fire of his artillery though Mr Orme says they had not yet come within cannon-shot, put himself at the head of the cavalry to profit by the favourable moment. The cavalry refused to march. The General suspended the Commanding Officer and ordered the second Captain to take the command. He, also, disobeyed. Lally ad dressed himself to the men and a Cornet crying out that it was a shame to desert their General in the day of battle, the officer who commanded on the left offered to put the troop in motion. They had not advanced many paces, when a single cannon-shot, says Lally the rapid firing of two pieces, says Mr Orme, put them to flight, and they galloped off, leaving him absolutely alone upon the plain.¹ Lally returned to the infantry and brought up his line. The French fired rashly and ineffectually both with artillery and musketry; the English leader who was cool, and perfectly obeyed, made his men reserve their fire, till sure of its execution. The regiment that occupied the enemy's right, when the distance between them and the English was now inconsiderable, threw themselves into column, and rushed forward at a rapid pace. Coote, directing the opposite regiment to be firm, and preserve their fire, gave the command when the enemy were at fifty yards distance. The fire fell heavy both on their front and flanks. Yet it stopped not the course of the column; and in an instant the two regiments were mingled at the point of the bayonet. The weight of the column bore down what was opposed to it; but as it had been left unprotected by the flight of the cavalry posted on its right, its flanks were

and soldiers, in all 1300 Europeans, with 1000 Sepoys; and that the English had 2200 infantry, and 100 cavalry, all Europeans; of black troops nearly an equal number with the French.—There is some appearance that Mr Orme's account of the French force is conjectural, and hence exaggerated, as all his numbers are round numbers, one regiment 400, another 700, another 400, cavalry 300, &c. Perhaps we ought to trust to Lally's account of his own forces, because it was given in the face of his enemies, who were interested, and well able, to contradict it if untrue; and we need not hesitate to take Mr Orme's account of the English, where his knowledge was complete.

¹ Mr Orme (B. M. 3) says, that two field-pieces, which fired several times in one minute, and brought down ten or fifteen men or horses, caused the flight.

completely exposed, and in a few moments the ground was covered with the slain, when it broke, and fled in disorder to the camp. Almost at the same time a tumbull blew up in the redoubt in front of the enemy's left, and during the confusion which this accident produced, the English took possession of the post. No part of the French line continued firm much longer. When ordered to advance, the Sepoys absolutely refused. Bussy, who put himself at the head of one of the regiments, to lead them to the push of the bayonet, as the only chance of restoring the battle, had his horse wounded under him, was abandoned by the troops, and taken prisoner. Lally frankly acknowledges, that his cavalry, who had behaved so ill at the beginning of the action, protected his retreat with great gallantry; he was thus enabled to wait for the junction of the detachment at Wandewash, and to carry off his light baggage and the wounded. The black cavalry of the English were too timid, and the European too feeble in numbers, to impede the retreat.

Lally retired to Chittapet, from which, without strengthening the garrison, he proceeded the following day towards Gingee. The enterprise next resolved on by Colonel Coote was the reduction of Arcot, toward which, the day after the battle, he sent forward a body of troops. Intelligence, however, of the defenceless state in which the enemy had left Chittapet, gave him hopes of making that a previous acquisition. In two days the English effected a breach, and the garrison surrendered. On the 1st of February, Coote arrived at Arcot. On the 5th three batteries opened on the town. On the night of the 6th the army began their approaches. Although operations were retarded for want of ammunition, on the morning of the 9th the sap was carried near the foot of the glacis, and by noon, two breaches, but far from practicable, were effected, when, to the great surprise of the English, a flag of truce appeared, and the place was surrendered. Not three men had been lost to the garrison, and they might have held out ten days longer, before the assault by storm could have been risked.

From Gingee Lally withdrew the French troops to Valdore, both to prevent the English from taking post between them and Pondicherry, and to protect the districts to the

BOOK IV
CHAP IV
1760

BOOK IV south, from which alone provisions could be obtained.
 CHAPTER IV The difficulties of Lally which had so long been great,
 1760. were now approaching to extremity. The army was absolutely without equipments, stores, and provisions, and he was destitute of resources to supply them. He repaired to Pondicherry to demand assistance, which he would not believe that the governor and council were unable to afford. He represented them as embezzlers and peculators and there was no imputation of folly or cowardice, or of dishonesty which was spared against him in return.

To proceed with the reduction of the secondary forts which the enemy held in different parts of the province to straiten Pondicherry and, if sufficient force should not arrive from France for its relief, to undertake the reduction of that important place, was the plan of operations which the English embraced. The country between Alamparva and Pondicherry was plundered and burnt Timary surrendered on the 1st of February; Devi-Cotah was evacuated about the same time on the 29th of the same month Trancomalee surrendered the fort of Permacoil was taken after some resistance in the beginning of March and Alamparva on the 12th. Carical now remained the only station on the coast, except Pondicherry in possession of the French and of this it was important to deprive them, before the shortly expected return of the fleet. A large armament was sent from Madras, and the officer who commanded at Trichinopoly was ordered to march to Carical with all the force which could be spared from the garrison. Lally endeavoured to send a strong detachment to its relief but the place made a miserable defence, and yielded on the 5th of April before assistance could arrive. On the 15th of that month Valdore surrendered after a feeble resistance as did Chilambaram on the 20th. Cuddalore was taken about the same time, and several strong attempts by the enemy to regain it were successfully resisted.

¹ Lally says (*Tableau Historique de l'Expédition de l'Inde*, p. 32), and apparently with justice, Il n'est pas douteux que si l'ennemi se fut porté tout de suite [after the battle of Wandewash] sur Pondicherry il etat fit rendu maître en huit jours. Il n'y avoit pas un grain de riz dans la place ; les lettres, papiers, ordres, et sommes que le Comte De Lally employoit depuis deux ans vis-à-vis du Sieur de Leyre, n'évoient pas le défenseur à y former un seul magnan. The English leaders appear to have had no conception of the extremely reduced state of the French, and how safe it would have been to strike a decisive blow at the seat of the colony.

By the 1st of May the French army was confined to BOOK IV the bounds of Pondicherry, and the English encamped CHAP IV within four miles of the town , the English powerfully re-inforced from England, and elated with remembrance of the past, as well as hope for the future , their antagonists abandoned, by neglect at home, to insuperable difficulties, and looking with eager eyes to the fleet, which never arrived. On the part of the English, Admiral Cornish had reached the coast with six ships of the line, before the end of February On the 25th of April Admiral Stevens, who now commanded in room of Pocock, arrived with four ships of the line , and on the 23d of May came another ship of the line, with three companies of the royal artillery on board

1760

As the last remaining chance of prolonging the struggle for the preservation of the French colony, Lally turned his eyes towards the natives , and fixed upon the Mysoreans as the power most capable of rendering him the assistance which he required The adventurer Hyder Ali was now at the head of a formidable army, and, though not as yet without powerful opponents, had nearly at his disposal the resources of Mysore Negotiation was performed , and an agreement was concluded On the one hand the Mysorean chief undertook to supply a certain quantity of bullocks for the provision of Pondicherry, and to join the French with 3000 select horse, and 5000 Sepoys On the other hand the French consented to give the Mysoreans immediate possession of the fort of Thiagar, a most important station, near two of the principal passes into the Carnatic, at an easy distance from Baramhal, about fifty miles E S.E from Pondicherry Even Madura and Tinivelly were said to be promised, if by aid of such valuable allies the war in the Carnatic were brought to a favourable conclusion This resource proved of little importance to the French The Mysoreans (who routed however a detachment of the English army sent to interrupt their march) were soon discouraged by what they beheld of the condition of the French , and soon recalled by an emergency which deeply affected Hyder at home They remained in the vicinity of Pondicherry about four weeks, during which time Lally had found it impossible to draw from them any material service , and departing in the night, without his know-

BOOK IV
CHAR IV
1760.

ledge, they marched back to Mysore. A few days before their departure six of the English Company's ships arrived at Madras with king's troops to the amount of 600 men - On the 2nd of September one month later several other ships of the Company arrived, and along with them three ships of war and a portion of a Highland regiment of the King, increasing the fleet in India to the amount of seventeen sail of the line.

Lally had now and it is no ordinary praise, during almost eight months since the total discomfiture of his army at Wandewash, imposed upon the English so much respect, as deterred them from the siege of Pondicherry and, notwithstanding the desperate state of his resources, found means to supply the fort, which had been totally destitute of provisions, with a stock sufficient to maintain the garrison for several months. And he still resolved to strike a blow which might impress them with an opinion that he was capable of offensive operations of no inconsiderable magnitude. He formed a plan, which has been allowed to indicate both judgment and sagacity for attacking the English camp by surprise in four places on the night of the 4th of September. But one of the four divisions, into which his army was formed for the execution of the enterprise, fell behind its time, and disconcerted the operations of the remainder.

A circumstance now occurred in the English army which affords another proof (we shall find abundance of them as we proceed) of the impossibility of governing any country well from the distance of half the circumference of the globe. No government, which had any regard to the maxims either of justice or of prudence, would deprive of his authority a commander who, like Colonel Coote, had brought a great and arduous service to the verge of completion, at the very moment when, without a chance of failure, he was about to strike the decisive blow which would give to his preceding operations the principal part of their splendour and renown. Yet the East India Company without intending so reprehensible a conduct, and from their unavoidable ignorance of what after many months was to be the state of affairs, had sent out a commission, with the fleet just arrived, for Major Menson the second in command, to supersede Coote, who was destined

for Bengal Monson was indeed directed to make no use BOOK IV
of his commission while Coote remained upon the coast, CHAP IV
but the spirit of Coote would not permit him to make any
advantage of this indulgence, and had he been less a man
of sense and temper, had he been more governed by that
boyish sensibility to injury, which among vulgar people
passes for honour, this imprudent step of the Company
would have been attended with the most serious conse-
quences When Coote was to proceed to Bengal it was
the destination of his regiment to proceed along with him
The Council of Madras were thrown into the greatest
alarm Monson declared that if the regiment were re-
moved he would not undertake the siege of Pondicherry
Coote consented that his regiment should remain, to en-
circle the brows of another with laurels which belonged to
his own

1760

Around Pondicherry, like many other towns in India,
ran a hedge of the strong prickly shrubs of the country,
sufficiently strong to repel the sudden incursions of the
irregular cavalry of the country As the position of the
French was contrived to give it whatsoever protection this
rampart could yield, the first operation of Monson was
intended to deprive them of that advantage The attack
was, indeed, successful, but through mismanagement on
the part of some of the officers, the plan was badly exe-
cuted, and considerable loss was incurred Among the
rest, Monson himself was wounded, and rendered incapable
for a time of acting in the field Colonel Coote had not
yet sailed for Bengal, and Monson and the Council joined
in requesting him to resume the command He returned
to the camp on the 20th of September, and actively pro-
ceeded with the reduction of the outposts When the
rains began, in the beginning of October, the camp was re-
moved to an elevated ground at some distance from the
town, and during the rains no efforts were made, except
those on the part of the French, to introduce provisions,
and those on the part of the English, to frustrate their
attempts About the beginning of December, the rains
drawing to a close, preparations were made for improving
the blockade into more expeditious methods of reduction
Several batteries were prepared, which played on the town
from the 8th to the 30th of December On that day a

BOOK IV

CHAPTER IV

1 CL

dreadful storm arose, which stranded three of the English ships in the road, and seriously damaged the greater part of the fleet while it tore up the tents of the soldiers, and threw the camp into the utmost confusion. Fortunately the inundation produced by the storm rendered it impracticable for the enemy to move their artillery nor could the troops carry their own ammunition dry. The greatest diligence was exerted in restoring the works. An attempt failed, which was made on the 5th of January to obtain possession of a redoubt still retained by the enemy. But on the 12th of January the trenches were opened. The enemy were now reduced to the last stage of privation. Lally himself was now worn out with vexation and fatigue. The dissensions which raged within the fort had deprived him of almost all authority a very feeble resistance was therefore made to the progress of the English works. The provisions, which such arduous efforts had been required to introduce into the fort, had been managed without economy the importunities of Lally to force away the black inhabitants, who consumed the stores of the place with so much rapidity were resisted, till matters were approaching to the last extremity. While provisions for some days yet remained, Lally urged the Council, since a capitulation must regard the civil as well as the military affairs of the colony to concert general measures for obtaining the most favourable terms and procured nothing but chicanery in return. The device of the Council was to preserve to themselves, if possible, the appearance of having had no share in the unpopular transaction of surrender and the advantage, dear to their resentments, of throwing with all its weight the blame upon Lally. When at last not two days provisions remained in the magazines, Lally informed them that he was reduced to the necessity of delivering up the military possession of the place for the civil affairs it rested with them to make what provision was in their power. Towards the close of day on the 14th a commissioner from Lally together with a deputation from the council approached the English camp. The enemy claimed the benefit of a cartel which had been concluded between the two crowns, and which they represented as precluding them from proposing any capitulation for the town of Pondicherry. As

a dispute respecting that cartel remained still undecided, BOOK IV Coote refused to be guided by it, or to accept any other CHAP IV terms than those of an unconditional surrender Their compliance, as he concluded with sufficient assurance, the necessity of their affairs rendered wholly indispensable

1761

On the fourth day after the surrender, there arose between the English civil and military authorities a dispute, which, had the military been as daring as the civil, might have been attended with the most serious consequences Mr Pigot, the Governor of Madras, made a formal demand, that Pondicherry should be given up to the Presidency, as the property of the East India Company Coote assembled a council of war, consisting of the chief officers, both of the fleet and the army, who were of opinion that the place ought to be held for the disposal of the King Pigot, with a hardihood which subdued them , though, in a man without arms in his hands, toward men on whose arms he totally depended, it might have been a hardihood attended with risk , declared that, unless Pondicherry were given up to the Presidency, he would furnish no money for the subsistence of the King's troops or the French prisoners Upon this intimation the military authorities submitted

Two places in the Carnatic, Thiagar, and the strong fort of Gingee, still remained in possession of the French The garrisons, however, who saw no hope of relief, made but a feeble resistance , and on the 5th of April Gingee surrendered, after which the French had not a single military post in India for even Mahé and its dependencies, on the Malabar coast, had been attacked and reduced by a body of troops which the fleet landed in the month of January The council of Madras lost no time in levelling the town and fortifications of Pondicherry with the ground.¹

Dreadful was the fate which awaited the unfortunate Lally, and important are the lessons which it leads By the feeble measures of a weak and defective government, a

¹ This, as Orme remarks, was in retaliation of the design of the French Government, avowed as the object of the expedition of Labourdonnais, the policy of Dupleix and the armament of Lally, the utter extirpation of the English, and destruction of their settlements in the Peninsula

BOOK IV Meer Jaffier Before the battle of Plassey which rendered
 clear to him Subahdar his own resources were scanty and precarious.
 ——————
 175[—] The liberality of Allverdi, the expence of his war
 with the Mahrattas, and the ravages of that destructive
 enemy left in the treasury of the province a scanty inheri-
 tance to Saraj-ad-dowla. The thoughtless profligacy of
 that prince, even had his reign been of adequate duration,
 was not likely to add to the riches of the state. To pur-
 chase the conspiracy of the English, Meer Jaffier with the
 prodigality of Eastern profusion, had promised sums which
 he was altogether unable to pay the chiefs whom he had
 debauched by the hopes of sharing in his fortunes, were
 impatient to reap the fruits of their rebellion and the
 pay of the troops was deeply in arrear In these circum-
 stances it was almost impossible for any man to yield
 satisfaction. The character of Meer Jaffier was ill calou-
 lated for approaching to that point of perfection.

In making promises, with a view to the attainment of
 any great and attractive object, an Indian sovereign seldom
 intends to perform any more than just as much as he may
 find it unavoidable to perform; and counts in general, too,
 with a well-grounded certainty upon evading a consider-
 able part at least of that for which he had engaged. To
 Meer Jaffier the steadiness with which the English adhered
 to the original stipulations appeared, for a time, the arti-
 fice merely of cunning men, who protract an accommodation
 for the purpose of rendering it more advantageous. Private bribes to defeat public ends, in Oriental politics,
 an engine seldom worked in vain, were applied with some
 perseverance. When he found the rigid fulfilment of the
 vast engagements to the English, still peremptorily and
 urgently claimed, he was not only surprised but exasper-
 ated and began to hope, that some favourable event
 would deliver him from such obstinate and troublesome
 associates.

The English were not the parties against whom his
 animosities were first displayed. Allverdi Khan, aware of
 the rebellious and turbulent spirit which almost always
 reigned among those adventurers from Iran and Turan,
 who commonly rose to the chief command in the armies
 of the Mohammedan princes in Hindustan, had adopted

the sagacious policy of bringing forward the gentle, the less enterprising, and less dangerous Hindus. And he had raised various individuals of that race to the principal places of power and emolument under his government Of Ramnaran, whom he intrusted with the important government of Berar, the reader has already received information Dooloob Ram, another Hindu, held the grand office of Dewan, or Superintendent of the Finances That celebrated family, the Sets, of Mooishedabad, who by merchandise and banking had acquired the wealth of princes, and often aided him in his trials, were admitted largely to share in his councils, and to influence the operations of his government Alivardi had recommended the same policy to Suraj-ad-dowla, and that prince had met with no temptation to depart from it¹

1757.

Meer Jaffier was placed under the deepest obligations to Dooloob Ram When he was convicted of malversation in his office, and stood in disgrace with his master, it was Dooloob Ram who had made his peace² In the late revolution, Dooloob Ram had espoused his interests, when the influence of that minister, and his command of treasure, might have conferred the prize upon another chief Whether he dreaded the power of the Hindu connexion, or was stimulated with a desire of their wealth, Meer Jaffier resolved to crush them, and with Dooloob Ram, as the most powerful individual, it was prudent to begin Before the departure of Clive, he had summoned Ramramsing, the Governor of Midnapore, and head of the Spy-office, to repair to the capital to answer for the arrears of his government, but the cautious Hindu, already alarmed, evaded the mandate by sending two of his relations The Nabob—so by the English now was Jaffier styled, threw both into prison, and easily reconciled Clive, by informing him, that Ramramsing was an enemy to the English, and had been the agent through whom the correspondence between Suraj-ad-dowla and Bussy had been carried on. A close connexion had long subsisted between Ramramsing and Dooloob Ram, and the latter, to whose sagacity the designs of Jaffier were not a secret, regarded the present step as a preliminary part of the plan which was laid for his own destruction

¹ Orme, ii 53² Seer Mutakhareen, ii 8

BOOK IV Oude the likelihood that the English would be recalled
CHAPTER V to the defence of their own settlement by the arrival of

 1758. the French and the danger lest Rammurain should bring
 an army of Mahrattas to his aid. Jaffer was not willing
 to oppose directly an opinion of Clive and offered to ac-
 cept his mediation reserving in his mind the use of every
 clandestine effort to accomplish his own designs. The
 army began its march to Patna and was joined by Ram-
 murain, after receipt of a letter by Clive, assuring him, that
 both his person and government should be safe. The in-
 tended delays and machinations of the Nabob were cut
 short, by intelligence that the Subahdar of Oude, with the
 French party under M. Law and a great body of Mahratta
 horse, was about to invade the province and by the actual
 arrival of a Mahratta chief, who came in the name of the
 principal Mahratta commanders to demand the arrears of
 chout, amounting to twenty-four lakhs of rupees, which
 were due from Bengal. These events produced a speedy
 accommodation with Rammurain. The Nabob, indeed,
 used various efforts to remain behind the English, in order
 to defeat the securities which that Governor had obtained.
 But Clive penetrated, and disappointed his designs. He
 even extorted from him another grant, of no small import-
 ance to the English treasury. A leading article in the
 European traffic was the salt-petre produced in Bengal,
 the whole of which was made in the country on the other
 side of the Ganges above Patna. This manufacture had
 in general been farmed for the benefit of the Government
 and Clive saw the advantage of obtaining the monopoly
 for the English. He offered the highest terms which the
 government had ever received but the Nabob knew he
 could not demand from the English the regular presents
 which he would derive from a master placed at his mercy;
 he was not, therefore, inclined to the arrangement; but,
 after a variety of objections, the necessity of his circum-
 stances compelled him to comply.

Clive got back to Moorshedabad on the 15th of May; and,
 on the same day received intelligence from the coast of
 Coromandel of the arrival of the French fleet, and of the
 indecisive first engagement between it and the English. A
 friend to the use which governments commonly make of
 their intelligence of the events of war, "Clive spread,"

says Orme, "the news he received, as a complete naval victory, two of the French ships sunk in the fight, instead of one stranded afterwards by a mischance, the rest put to flight, with no likelihood of being able to land the troops which they had brought from Pondicherry" BOOK IV
CHAP V
1758

On the 24th, Clive departed from Moorshedabad without waiting for the Nabob. On the 20th of June, a ship arrived at Calcutta from England, and brought along with it a commission for new modelling the government. A council was nominated consisting of ten, and, instead of one Governor, as in preceding arrangements, four were appointed, not to preside collectively, but each during three months in rotation. The inconvenience of this scheme of government was easily perceived. "But there was another cause," says Mr Orme, "which operated on opinions more strongly. Colonel Clive had felt and expressed resentment at the neglect of himself in the Company's orders, for no station was marked for him in the new establishment." Convinced that he alone had sufficient authority to over-awe the Nabob into the performance of his obligations, the council, including the four gentlemen who were appointed the governors, came to a resolution, highly expressive of their own disinterestedness and patriotism, but full of disregard and contempt for the judgment and authority of their superiors.¹ This high legislative act of the Company they took upon them to set aside, and, with one accord, invited Clive to accept the undivided office of President. With this invitation he assures us, that "he hesitated not one moment to comply."²

¹ Mr Scrafton (*Reflections on the Government, &c. of Indostan*, p 115) says, "At this crisis, when military virtue and unanimity were more immediately necessary, the Directors, divided by violent contests among themselves, which certainly did them no honour, were so unfortunate in their judgment, as to appoint four Governors of Bengal, to govern each four months, and left Colonel Clive entirely out of this list. The absurdity of such a system was too apparent to take place," &c —M

There was no display of disregard or contempt, however for their superiors. The council, in writing to Clive, express their belief "that had their employers been apprized of the present state of affairs in Bengal, they would have placed the presidentship in some one person, as the clearest and easiest method of conducting their concerns." And that they had rightly judged, appeared from the event, for as soon as the Directors heard of the battle of Plassy, they appointed Clive to the station of Governor. Life, i 352 —W

² Report, ut supra. The influence of the Colonel is depicted by the following anecdote. There was an officer of rank, to whom Jaffier had been often indebted before his elevation, remarkable for his wit. This, from their former intimacy, and a jealousy of present neglect, he did not spare on the Nabob himself. While the armies of the Nabob and of Clive were at Patna, he was

BOOK IV In the mean time considerable events were preparing at
CHAPTER V Moorsahababad. On the approach of Clive and Dooloop
1758. Ram, Meeran had thrown the city into violent agitation; by quitting it with demonstrations of fear summoning all the troops and artillery of the government, and giving it out as his intention to march for the purpose of joining his father. Clive wrote with much sharpness to the Nabob and Meeran apologized in the most submissive strain. Though inability to discharge the arms due to the troops, who could with much difficulty be preserved from tumults, compelled the Nabob to delay his proceedings, he was impatient for the destruction of Dooloop Ram. The severity of his despotism increased and he declared to one of his favorites, who betrayed him, that if a French force would come into the province he would assist them, unless the English released him from all their claims of money territory and exemptions. Among the Hindus, who had risen to high employment under the encouraging policy of the late Subahdar, was Nunoomar, who acted as Governor of Hoogly at the time of Suraj-ad-dowlah's march against Calcutta. Nunoomar had followed the armies to Patna, and, as conversant with the details of the revenue, was employed by Dooloop Ram. When the difficulties of obtaining payment upon the tuncaws granted to the English began to be felt, he proffered his assistance and, if supported by the government of the Nabob, assured the English, that he would realize the sums. He was vested with such authority as the service appeared to require but as he expected not to elude the knowledge of Dooloop Ram, in the practices which he meditated, for raising out of his employment a fortune to himself, he resolved to second the designs of the Nabob for the removal

one day succeeded to the Nabob of having permitted a fray between some of his own soldiers and some of Clive's. It chanced, says the author of the *Bear Metakharseen*, II 19, that Mirza Shamseddin himself made his appearance at that very moment. He was in full burrah and in the hall of audience. The Khanab fixed his eyes upon him, and spoke a few words that seemed to border Khanab upon reprimand. "Sir said he, your people have had fray with the Colonel's people. Is your honour to know, he is that Colonel Clive and in his station heaven has seated him?" My Lord Khanab, answered the Mirza, getting up instantly and standing bolt upright before him. "Me, to quarrel with the Colonel! me! who never got up in the morning, without making three prostrations to his very Jackson! How then could I be daring enough, after that, to fall out with the ruler himself!"

of that vigilant Dewan He persuaded the Sets to withdraw their protection from this troublesome inspector, by awakening their fears of being called upon for money, if Dooloob Ram withheld the revenues, and supplied not the exigencies of the state He assured the Nabob and Meeran, that the English would cease to interfere in their government if the money was regularly paid Dooloob Ram took the alarm, and requested leave to retire to Calcutta, with his family and effects Permission was refused, till he should find a sum of money sufficient to satisfy the troops Under profession of a design to visit Colonel Clive at Calcutta, the Nabob quitted the capital, but under pretence of hunting, remained in its neighbourhood On the second day after his departure, Meeran incited a body of the troops to repair to the residence of Dooloob Ram, and to clamour tumultuously for their pay The English agent interfered, but as the troops were directed by Meeran to make sure of Dooloob Ram, the agent found great difficulty in preserving his life Clive at last desired that he should be allowed, with his family, to repair to Calcutta, and the consent of the Nabob was no longer withheld.

Within a few days after the return of the Nabob from Calcutta, a tumult was excited in his capital by the soldiers of one of the chiefs, and assumed the appearance of being aimed at the Nabob's life A letter was produced, which bore the character of a letter from Dooloob Ram to the commander of the disorderly troops, inciting him to the enterprise, and assuring him that the concurrence of Clive, and other leading Englishmen, was obtained. Clive suspected that the letter was a forgery of Jaffier and Meeran, to ruin Dooloob Ram in the opinion of the English, and procure his expulsion from Calcutta, when his person and wealth would remain in their power All doubts might be resolved by the interrogation and confrontation of the commander, to whom the letter was said to be addressed But he was ordered by the Nabob to quit his service, was way-laid on his departure, and assassinated

In the mean time advices had arrived from the Presidency at Madras, that Fort St David had yielded, that a second engagement had taken place between the fleets, that the French army was before Tanjore, that M Bussy

BOOK IV was on his march to join Lally and the most earnest
 CHAR V solicitations were subjoined, that as large a portion of the
 troops as possible might be sent, to afford a chance of
 159 averting the ruin of the national affairs in the Carnatic.

"No one," says Orme, "doubted that Madras would be besieged as soon as the monsoon had sent the squadrons off the coast, if reinforcements should not arrive before. Clive chose to remain in Bengal, where he was master rather than go to Madras, where he would be under command and determined not to lessen his power by sending troops to Madras, which the Presidency copying his example, might forget to send back. An enterprise, at the same time, presented itself, which, though its success would have been vain, had the French in the Carnatic prevailed, bore the appearance of a co-operation in the struggle, and afforded a colour for detaining the troops."

One of the leading Polygars in the Northern Circars, fixing his eye upon the advantages which he might expect to derive from giving a new master to the provinces, communicated to the English in Bengal his desire to co-operate with them in driving out the French, while Basay was involved in a struggle with the brothers of the Subahdar. The brilliancy of the exploit had no feeble attractions for the imagination of Clive and after the recall of Basay to Pondicherry he imparted his intentions to the Council. The project met with unanimous condemnation. But Clive, disregarding all opposition, prepared his armament. It consisted of 500 Europeans, 2000 Sepoys, and 100 Lascars, with six field-pieces, six battering cannon, one howitzer and one eight-inch mortar. This expedition, commanded by Colonel Forde, was destined to proceed by sea but the alterations in the council, which the disapprobation of the measure produced, and the delays which occurred in the equipment of the ships, retarded its departure till the end of September.

Orme says (p. 343), Clive did not entertain a scruple that it would be taken whilst it had provisions. But Clive himself says (Report, *ut supra*).

"Nothing saved Madras from sharing the fate of Fort St. David, but their [the French] want of money which gave time for strengthening and reinforcing the place."

Orme only says (p. 344), The measure was too vigorous to be acceptable to all the members of the council. But Clive himself says (Report, *ut supra*), that he undertook it, contrary to the inclination of his whole council.

Orme, II. 355—357 and 359—363; See Mathuram, II. 4—34.

On the 20th of October Colonel Forde disembarked at Vizagapatam, and joined his troops with those of the Raja Anunderauz, at whose instigation the exploit was undertaken. It was expected, that this chief would afford money for the maintenance of the troops, and hence but a small supply of that necessary article was brought from Bengal. The Raja was in the usual state of Rajas, Nabobs, Subahdars, and Emperors in India, he was reputed by the English immensely rich, while in reality he was miserably poor. He was, therefore, not very able to provide the sums expected from him, and still less willing. The delays by which he contrived to elude the importunities of the English were highly provoking, and by retarding their movements, threatened to deprive them of all the great advantages of rapidity and surprise. A sort of treaty was at last concluded by which it was agreed that, excepting the seaports, and towns at the mouths of the rivers, the conquered country should all be given up to Anunderauz, upon the condition of his advancing a certain monthly sum for the maintenance of the troops.

M Conflans, who had been sent to command the French troops upon the recall of Bussy, had concentrated his forces about Rajamundri, towards which the English and the Raja directed their march. The force, which remained under the command of Conflans, after the departure of the troops which were recalled with Bussy, was still considerably superior to that which had arrived with the English, but when the troops for other services were deducted, he took the field against the English with numbers nearly equal. A battle was brought on, and the French were completely defeated, they were not only stript of their camp, but fled from Rajamundri.

During the battle, the Raja and his troops remained cowering in the hollow of a dry tank, which protected them from shot. After the battle all his operations were tardy, what was worse, no money could be extracted from him, all the cash which had been brought from Bengal was expended, and during fifty days, when advantage might have been taken of the want of preparation on the part of the enemy, and of the dejection arising from their defeat, the English were unable to move. At last, by a new arrangement, a small sum was obtained from the Raja,

BOOK IV the troops were put in motion, and on the 8th of February **CHAR V** arrived at Ellore or Yalore, where they were joined by the Zemindar or chief of the district.

1759

Confians had no longer confidence to meet the English in the field, but withdrew to defend himself in Masulipatam, the principal fort, and principal station of the French, on that part of the coast while he urged the Subahdar of the Deccan to march to the defence of his own territories, the French being occupants under his authority and subject to his law while the English intended to wrest the country wholly from his hands. The views of the courtiers of the Subahdar happened at the moment to coincide with his own wishes to preserve for himself the protection of the French, and he put his army in motion towards Masulipatam.

This prevented not the English commander from hastening to attack the place. He arrived on the 6th of March. The French treated his pretensions with ridicule. Masulipatam, for an Indian town, and against Indian means of attack, was of no inconsiderable strength. The defenders within were more numerous than the besiegers. A considerable army of observation was left in the field. The Subahdar with the grand army of the Deccan, was on the march and a reinforcement of Europeans was expected from Pondicherry. A sum of money for the English had arrived from Bengal but the French army of observation rendered it dangerous, or rather impracticable, to send it to the camp. The English troops mutinied for want of pay and it was with much difficulty and by large promises, that they were induced to resume the discharge of their duty.

Three batteries continued a hot fire on three different parts of the town, without having effected any considerable damage, from the 25th of March to the 6th of April, when the situation of the English began to wear a very threatening aspect. Salabut Jung was approaching the French army of observation had retaken Rajamundri, and might effect a junction with the Subahdar it was impossible for the English now to retreat by the way which they had come, or even to embark at Masulipatam with their cannon and heavy stores the monsoon had begun; the reinforcement from Pondicherry was expected; and to

crown all, the engineers reported that no more than two days' ammunition for the batteries remained unconsumed In these circumstances, however apparently desperate, Colonel Forde resolved to try the chance of an assault The batteries were directed to play with the utmost activity during the whole of the day, and the troops to be under arms at ten at night The attack, in order to divide the attention of the enemy, and render uncertain the point of danger, was to be in three places at once, and the three divisions of the army were to be on their respective grounds exactly at midnight The struggle was expected to be severe, from the superior numbers of the enemy, and the little damage which the works had sustained A part of the army faltered considerably, nor did all the officers meet the danger with perfect composure They got, however, within the walls with comparative ease, where, being met by superior forces, they might have paid dear for their temerity, had not surprise aided their arms, and had not M Confians confounded by uncertainty, and by various and exaggerated reports, after a short resistance, surrendered the place

Within one week two ships appeared with a reinforcement of 300 troops from Pondicherry The Subahdar, whose arrival had been anticipated but a very few days by the fall of Masulipatam, found himself in circumstances ill calculated to carry on by himself a war against the English He was anxious on the other hand, being now deprived of the French, to cultivate a friendship with the English, and to obtain from them a body of troops, to protect him against the dangerous ambition of his brother Nizam Ali, who, since the departure of Bussy, had returned at the head of a considerable body of troops, and filled him with serious alarm Colonel Forde repaired to his camp, where he was received with great distinction, and concluded a treaty, by which a considerable territory about Masulipatam was ceded to the English, and the Subahdar engaged to allow no French settlement for the future to exist in his dominions The French army of observation, which it was by the same treaty stipulated, should cross the Kistna in fifteen days, joined the army of Bassalut Jung, the elder brother of the Subahdar, who had accompanied him on the expedition to the Northern Circars,

BOOK IV and now marched away to the south. The two ships which
char v had brought the reinforcement from Pondicherry upon

 1749. discovering the loss of Masulipatam, sailed away to the
 north, and landed the troops at Ganjam. They made se-
 veral efforts to render some useful service, but entirely
 fruitless and after enduring a variety of privations, re-
 turned greatly reduced in numbers to Pondicherry.

While the detachment from the army of Bengal was en-
 gaged in these operations, the solicitude of Clive was
 attracted by an enemy of high pretensions in a different
 quarter. Toward the close of the history of the Mogul
 Emperors, it appeared, that the eldest son of the Emperor
 Aulungeer II., not daring to trust himself in the hands of
 the Vizir the daring Umad al Mulk, by whom the em-
 peror was held in a state of wretched servitude, had with-
 drawn into the district of Nujeeb ad Dowla, the Rohilla,
 who was an opponent of the Vizir and a partisan of the
 Imperial family. At this time, the revolution effected by
 the English in Bengal, the unpopularity and disorders of
 Jaffier's administration, and the presumed weakness of his
 government, excited hopes in the neighbouring chiefs,
 that an invasion of his territories might be turned to
 advantage. The imagination of Mohammed Koolie Khan,
 the Subahdar of Allahabad, was the most highly elevated
 by the prospect of sharing in the spoils of the English
 Nabob. He was instigated by two powerful Zamindars,
 the Rajas, Sunder Sing, and Bulwant Sing. And the
 Nabob of Oude, his near kinsman, one of the most power-
 ful chiefs in Hindustan, joined with apparent ardour in the
 design. The Nabob of Oude entertained a double purpose;
 that of obtaining, if any thing was to be seized, as great a
 share as possible of Bahar or Bengal; and that of watching
 his opportunity while his ally and kinsman was intent
 upon his expected acquisitions, to seize by force or strata-
 gem the fort of Allahabad. The influence of the imperial
 name appeared to them of no small importance in the war
 with Jaffier and as the prince, who had fled into Rohil-
 cund, was soliciting them for protection, it was agreed to
 place him ostensibly at the head of the enterprise. Pre-
 parations were made and the Prince, having obtained
 from the Emperor legal investiture, as Subahdar of Bengal,

¹ Orme, v. 271—280, 473—481; Wilks, p. 401.

Bahar, and Orissa, crossed the Carumnassa, a river which bounds the province of Bahar, towards the conclusion of the year 1758. From the exhaustion of the treasury when Jaffier was raised to the government, the great sums which he had paid to the English, the difficulty of extracting money from the people, his own negligent and wasteful administration, and the cruel and brutal character of his son Meeran, Jaffier was ill-prepared to meet a formidable invasion. From his own rabble of ill-paid and mutinous soldiers, he was obliged to turn, and place all his hopes of safety in the bravery and skill of the English, whom, before the news of this impending danger, he had been plotting to expel. The English appear to have had no foresight of such an event. By the absence of the troops in the Northern Circars, their force was so inconsiderable, and both they and Jaffier needed so much time to prepare, that had the invaders proceeded with tolerable expedition and skill, they might have gained, without difficulty, the whole province of Bahar. A blow like this, at so critical a period, would have shaken to such a degree the tottering government of Jaffier, that the incipient power of the English might have despaired of restoring it, and a momentary splendour might again have surrounded the throne of the Moguls.

The march of the Prince and his confederates towards Patna placed Ramnaraian the Governor between two dreadful fires. To Jaffier he neither felt, nor owed attachment. But, joining the prince, he risked every thing, if Jaffier should succeed, adhering to Jaffier, he risked as much, if the prince should succeed. The situation was calculated to exercise Hindu duplicity and address. An application to Mr Amyatt, the chief of the English factory, was the first of his steps, from whom as he could receive no protection, he expected such latitude of advice, as would afford a colour to any measures he might find it agreeable to pursue. It happened as he foresaw. Mr Amyatt informing him that the English would remain at Patna, if assistance should arrive, if not, would retire from the danger, frankly and sincerely instructed him, to amuse the prince as long as possible, but if all hopes of succour should fail, to provide for himself as events might direct. Ramnaraian studied to conduct himself in such a manner as to be able

BOOK IV to join with the greatest advantage the party for whom
CHAR V fortune should declare. He wrote to Bengal importuning

 1750 for succour and he at the same privately sent a messenger
 to propitiate the Prince. He was even induced, when the
 English of the factory had retired down the river to pay
 him a visit in his camp and the troops of the Prince
 might have entered Patna along with him. The oppor-
 tunity however was lost and the observations which the
 Hindu made upon the Prince's camp and upon the coun-
 cils which guided him, induced him to shut the gates of
 the city when he returned, and to prepare for defence.

The hardihood of Clive was seldom overcome by scruples. Yet the Emperor Aulumgeer was legitimate sovereign of Bengal and had undoubted right to appoint his eldest son to be his deputy in the government of that province. To oppose him, was undisguised rebellion. The English forces, a slender band, marched to Moorshedabad, and being joined by the best part of Jaffier's troops, commanded by Meeran, they advanced towards Patna where Rammurain had amused the prince by messages and overtures as long as possible, and afterwards opposed him. Though the attack was miserably conducted, a breach was made, and the courage and resources of Rammurain would have been soon exhausted when intelligence reached the camp, that the Subahdar of Oude, who was on his march with an army under pretence of joining the prince, had treacherously seized the fortress of Allahabad. Mohammed Koolie Khan, by whom the prince's affairs were conducted, and whose forces were his

The prince, Halwell assures us (*Memorial*, p. 3), repeatedly offered to grant the English their own terms, if they would assist him in recovering his rights. On what side justice lay is evident enough. On what side policy whether on that which Clive rejected, or that which he chose, is more subtle inquiry.—M.

It was not question of policy but one of good faith. By the treaty with Mir Jaffier as well as by the nature of their connexion with him,—the English were pledged to assist him against all enemies whatever and few of the Governors of the Provinces would have scrupled to consider the Emperor as an enemy if he had sought to dispossess them of their Sultaans. Even, however if the theory of obedience to monarch, who at the very seat of Empire as no longer his own master could be urged with any show of reason it would not be applicable in the present instance, for the Shahzada was not appointed by the Emperor to be his deputy in Bengal, and as Clive pleased to the Prince himself, no communication of his pretensions or purposes had been made from Delhi. On the contrary the Prince was there treated as rebel to his father. He could not plead, therefore, the Emperor's authority for his incursions, and no other pretext could have afforded him the semblance even of right. Life of Clive L. 406.—W.

entire support, resolved to march immediately for the BOOK IV recovery or protection of his own dominions, and though he was joined at four miles' distance from the city by M Law, who had hastened from Chutteipore with his handful of Frenchmen, and importuned him to return to Patna, of which he engaged to put him in possession in two days, the infatuated Nabob continued his march, and being persuaded by the Subahdar of Oude to throw himself upon his generosity, was first made a prisoner, and afterwards put to death

1759

When Clive and Meeran approached, the enemy had already departed from Patna, and the unhappy prince, the descendant of so many illustrious sovereigns, the legal Subahdar of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and the undoubted heir of the throne, once among the loftiest of the globe, was so bereft of friends and resources, that he was induced to write a letter to Clive, requesting a sum of money for his subsistence, and offering in requital to withdraw from the province Upon these easy terms was Clive, by his good fortune, enabled to extricate himself from a situation of considerable difficulty Ramnarain obtained, or it was convenient to grant him, credit for fidelity, the Zemindars who had joined the prince hastened to make their peace, and Clive returned to Calcutta in the month of June¹

This was a fortunate expedition for Clive So unbounded was the gratitude of Jaffier, that after obtaining for his defender the rank of an Omrah of the empire, he bestowed upon him, under the title of Jaghire, the whole of the revenue or rent which the Company in quality of Zemindar, were bound to pay for the territory which they held round Calcutta. The grant amounted to the enormous sum of 30,000*l* per annum "Clive's Jaghire" is an expression of frequent recurrence, and of considerable weight in the History of India

The Shazada (such was the title by which the eldest son of the Mogul was then distinguished in Bengal) was thus fortunately repulsed, and Colonel Forde with his troops was no less fortunately returned from the south,

¹ Scott's History of Bengal, p 379—391, Seer Mintakhareen, vol ii part ii p 42—89, Franklin's Shah Aulum, p 8—11, First Report of the Select Committee in 1772, Holwell's Memorial, p 2—M

To these may be added Life of Clive, in which Ramnarain's conduct is very differently represented, I 410 —W

BOOK IV to join with the greatest advantage the party for whom fortune should declare. He wrote to Bengal importuning for succour and he at the same privately sent a messenger to propitiate the Prince. He was even induced, when the English of the factory had retired down the river to pay him a visit in his camp and the troops of the Prince might have entered Patna along with him. The opportunity however was lost and the observations which the Hindu made upon the Prince's camp and upon the counsels which guided him, induced him to shut the gates of the city when he returned, and to prepare for defence.

1759 The hardihood of Clive was seldom overcome by scruples. Yet the Emperor Aulungeer was legitimate sovereign of Bengal and had undoubted right to appoint his eldest son to be his deputy in the government of that province. To oppose him, was undisguised rebellion. The English forces, a slender band, marched to Moorshedabad, and being joined by the best part of Jaffier's troops, commanded by Meeran, they advanced towards Patna where Rammurah had amused the prince by messages and overtures as long as possible, and afterwards opposed him. Though the attack was miserably conducted, a breach was made, and the courage and resources of Rammurah would have been soon exhausted when intelligence reached the camp, that the Subahdar of Oude, who was on his march with an army under pretence of joining the prince, had treacherously seized the fortress of Allahabad. Mohammed Koolie Khan, by whom the prince's affairs were conducted, and whose forces were his

The prince, Halwell assures us (Memorial, p. 5), repeatedly offered to grant the English their own terms, if they would assist him in recovering his rights. On what side justice lay is evident enough. On what side policy whether on that which Clive rejected, or that which he chose, is more subtle treachery —M.

It was not a question of policy but one of good faith. By the treaty with Mir Jaffer as well as by the nature of their connexion it is true,—the English were pledged to assist him against all enemies whatever and few of the Governors of the Provinces would have scrupled to consider the Emperor as an enemy if he had sought to dispossess them of their Sibahs. Even, however, if the theory of obedience to a monarch, who at the very seat of Empire was no longer his own master could be urged with any show of reason, it would not be applicable in the present instance, for the Sibah-sabah was not repossessed by the Emperor to be his deputy in Bengal, and as Clive pleaded to the Prince himself, no communication of his movements or purposes had been made from Delhi. On the contrary the Prince was there treated as rebel to his father. He could not plead, therefore, the Emperor's authority for his invasion, and no other pretext could have afforded him the semblance even of right. Little of Clive, L. 400.—W.

entire support, resolved to march immediately for the BOOK IV recovery or protection of his own dominions, and though he was joined at four miles' distance from the city by M Law, who had hastened from Chutterpore with his handful of Frenchmen, and importuned him to return to Patna, of which he engaged to put him in possession in two days, the infatuated Nabob continued his march, and being persuaded by the Subahdar of Oude to throw himself upon his generosity, was first made a prisoner, and afterwards put to death.

CHAP V

1759

When Clive and Meeran approached, the enemy had already departed from Patna, and the unhappy prince, the descendant of so many illustrious sovereigns, the legal Subahdar of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and the undoubted heir of the throne, once among the loftiest of the globe, was so bereft of friends and resources, that he was induced to write a letter to Clive, requesting a sum of money for his subsistence, and offering in equital to withdraw from the province Upon these easy terms was Clive, by his good fortune, enabled to extricate himself from a situation of considerable difficulty Ramnarain obtained, or it was convenient to grant him, credit for fidelity, the Zemindars who had joined the prince hastened to make their peace, and Clive returned to Calcutta in the month of June¹

This was a fortunate expedition for Clive So unbounded was the gratitude of Jaffier, that after obtaining for his defender the rank of an Omrah of the empire, he bestowed upon him, under the title of Jaghire, the whole of the revenue or rent which the Company in quality of Zemindar, were bound to pay for the territory which they held round Calcutta. The grant amounted to the enormous sum of 30,000*l* per annum "Clive's Jaghire" is an expression of frequent recurrence, and of considerable weight in the History of India

The Shazada (such was the title by which the eldest son of the Mogul was then distinguished in Bengal) was thus fortunately repulsed, and Colonel Forde with his troops was no less fortunately returned from the south,

¹ Scott's History of Bengal, p 379—391, Seer Mutakhareen, vol II part II p 42—89, Franklin's Shah Atulum, p 8—11, First Report of the Select Committee in 1772, Holwell's Memorial, p 2 —M

To these may be added Life of Clive, in which Ramnarain's conduct is very differently represented, i 410 —W

BOOK IV when the English were alarmed by the news of a great
 CHAP V armament, fitted out by the Dutch at Batavia, and destined
 1759. for Bengal. The Dutch were not then at war with Eng-
 land, and being excited to cupidity by the lofty reports of
 the rich harvest lately reaped by the English in Bengal,
 possibly aimed at no more than a share of the same ad-
 vantages, or to balance before its irresistible ascendancy
 the increasing power of their rivals. They had received
 encouragement from Jaffier but that ruler since the in-
 vasion of the Mogul prince, felt so powerfully his depend-
 ence on the English, that when called upon by the English
 for the use of his authority and power he durst not
 decline. In the month of August a Dutch ship arrived in
 the river filled with troops and this was speedily fol-
 lowed by six more, the whole having on board 700 Euro-
 peans, and 800 Malays. To attack without provocation
 the ships or troops of a nation in friendship with this
 country was not regarded by Clive as less than a hazardous
 step. The advantages, however of standing without a
 rival in Bengal, outweighed his apprehensions he ob-
 tained an order of the Subahdar commanding the Dutch
 to leave the river and, under pretence of securing
 his authority resolved upon hostilities. The seven ships
 ascended the river as far as a few miles below Calcutta,
 and landed their troops, which were thence to march to
 the Dutch factory at Chinsura. Clive detached Colonel
 Forder with a force, consisting of 300 Europeans, 800 Se-
 poys, and about 150 of Jaffier's Cavalry to intercept them
 and at the same time commanded three of the Company's
 ships, fitted out and manned for the purpose, to attack the
 Dutch East Indiamen. Colonel Forder by the dexterity
 and success of his exploit, converted it into one of the
 most brilliant incidents of the war; and of the 700 Euro-
 peans, not above fourteen were enabled to reach Chin-
 sura, the rest being either taken prisoners, or slain. The
 attack upon the ships was equally successful after an
 engagement of two hours, six of them were taken, and
 the seventh was intercepted by two English ships which
 lay further down the river After this heavy blow the
 Dutch, to prevent their total expulsion from Bengal, were
 contented to put themselves in the wrong, by paying the
 expenses of the war and the irregularity of his inter-

ference made Clive well pleased to close the dispute, by RESTORING to the Dutch their ships, with all the treasure and effects. The agreement with the Dutch was ratified on the 5th of December, and Clive, who for some months had been meditating return with his fortune to Europe, resigned the government early in February, and sailed from Calcutta.¹

CHAP V

1760

He left not the country in peace. Meeran, before he departed from Patna, the preceding year, had sown the seeds of a future war. He treated with injustice some officers of considerable rank and influence, and no sooner was he gone, than a confederacy was formed between them and some neighbouring Zemindars to support the Shazada in a fresh invasion. Intelligence of their designs had reached Calcutta before the contest with the Dutch was decided. And the Nabob of Poorania, whom Meeran had already endeavoured to cut off by treachery, had taken the field, and was expected to join the Mogul prince.

Colonel Calliaud had been called from the Carnatic to take the command of the forces in Bengal, when Clive and Forde, who meditated simultaneous departure, should sail for Europe. He arrived with a reinforcement of troops towards the end of November, and it was necessary that he should proceed to stop the menaced invasion without a moment's delay. He left Calcutta with a detachment of 300 Europeans, 1000 Sepoys, and fifty artillery-men, with six pieces of cannon, and arrived at Moorshedabad on the 26th of December. He was joined by Clive on the 6th of January, who, having made his arrangements with the Subahdar, or Nabob, set out after a week for Calcutta. Calliaud, being joined by 15,000 horse and foot, and twenty-five pieces of cannon, of the Nabob, under command of Meeran, resumed his march on the 18th.

In the meantime, the Mahrattas, who had been incited by the Vizir, Umad al mulk, to invade the provinces of Oude and Rohilcund, had been defeated and obliged to fly, while the powerful King of the Abdallees was again

¹ First Report from the Select Committee in 1772, Holwell's Memorial, Calliaud's Narrative. The author of the Seer Muntakhereen wonders greatly what could be the reason of Clive's quitting the government, a sentiment very natural to him, who well understood the pleasures of governing; but could not so easily conceive the passion of an Englishman to see lodged a princely fortune in his own country.

BOOK IV on his march for the invasion of Hindustan. Excited by
 char v the approach of formidable danger, the Vizir in a fit of
 1760. exasperation or despair ordered the murder of the Em-
 peror the wretched Aulumgeer and the news of this
 tragical event reached the Sharada, just as he had passed
 the Carumna into the province of Bahar. He was ad-
 vised to assume immediately the state and title of Em-
 peror to confer the office of Vizir upon Shuja-ad-dowla,
 the Nabob of Oude, and to confirm Nujeeb-ad-dowla in
 the office of Ameer ul Omrah. The majesty of the im-
 perial throne, and his undoubted title, had an influence still
 upon the minds of men. It was now clear and immediate
 rebellion to resist him and whatever guilt could be
 involved in making war upon their rightful sovereign,
 must be incurred by those who carried arms against him.
 The English had already familiarised themselves with the
 idea of rebellion in India; and the consideration of legiti-
 mate sovereignty though the sovereign would have pur-
 chased their protection by unlimited grants, appears not
 to have excited a scruple in a single breast. The new
 dignity however of Vizir called upon the Nabob of Oude
 for some exertions in favour of his sovereign and the
 fascination of the imperial title was still of force to collect
 around him a considerable army.

The march of the English was retarded by the necessity
 of settling terms with the Nabob of Poorana, who had
 encamped on the left bank of the river between Moor-
 shabad and Patna, and professed a desire of remaining obe-
 dient to Jaffier provided the English would engage for his
 security. This negotiation wasted seven days and in the
 meantime the Emperor advanced towards Patna. Ram-
 narayan, whom the sagacity of Aliverdi had selected to be
 deputy Governor of Bahar on account of his skill in
 matters of finance, was destitute of military talents and
 considering his situation, under the known hatred of
 Jaffier as exceedingly precarious, he was unwilling to lay
 out any of the wealth he had acquired, in providing for
 the defence of the country. He was still enabled to draw
 forth a respectable army reinforced by seventy Europeans
 and a battalion of English sepoys, commanded by Lieu-

It is stated at 80,000 men by Calleard (*Narrative of what happened in Bengal in 1760*, p. 7); but this we conceive is an exaggerated conjecture.

tenant Cochrane, and he encamped under the walls, with BOOK IV
 a view to cover the city He had received by letter the CHAP V
 strongest injunctions from Callaud, on no account to —————
 hazard a battle till Meeran and he should arrive An 1760
 action, however, took place , the army of Ramnaraian was
 attacked with impetuosity , some of his officers behaved
 with treachery , his troops were giving way on all sides ,
 and he himself was dangerously pressed , when he sent an
 importunate request to the English for immediate assist-
 ance The Lieutenant had advised him at the beginning
 of the action to place himself, for the security of his per-
 son, near the English battalion , an advice with which his
 vanity did not permit him to comply That officer
 marched to his relief without a moment's delay , but he
 imprudently divided his handful of troops , they were
 unable to withstand the force of numbers all the Euro-
 pean officers of the Sepoys fell, when the Sepoys dispersed
 and were cut to pieces The English, who remained alive,
 resolved to fight their way to the city , and such was the
 awe and terror which the sight of their courage inspired,
 that the enemy, not daring to resist, opened instantly to
 the right and left, and allowed them to retire ¹

Had the troops of the Emperor pushed on with vigour,
 immediately after this victory, when Ramnaraian was

¹ The remarks of the Mogul nobleman, who was in Patna at the moment of the action, are amusing at least "What remained of their people," he says, "was rallied by Doctor William Fullerton, a friend of mine, and possibly by some English officers whose names I know not, who ranged them in order again, and as one of their guns was to be left on the field of battle, they found means to render it useless and of no avail, by thrusting a large needle of iron into its eye The other being in good condition, they took it with them, together with its ammunition, and that handful of men had the courage to retire in the face of a victorious enemy without once shrinking from their ranks During their journey, the cart of ammunition chanced to receive some damage , the Doctor stopped unconcernedly, and after having put it in order, he bravely pursued his route again, and it must be acknowledged, that this nation's presence of mind, firmness of temper, and undaunted bravery, are past all question They join the most resolute courage to the most cautious prudence , nor have they their equals in the art of ranging themselves in battle array, and fighting in order If to so many military qualifications they knew how to join the arts of government, if they showed a concern for the circumstances of the husbandman and the gentleman, and exerted as much ingenuity and solicitude in relieving and easing the people of God, as they do in whatever concerns their military affairs, no nation in the world would be preferable to them, or prove worthier of command But such is the little regard which they show to the people of these kingdoms, and such their apathy and indifference for their welfare, that the people under their dominion groan everywhere, and are reduced to poverty and distress Oh God! come to the assistance of thine afflicted servants, and deliver them from the oppressions they suffer" Seer Mutakhareen, ii 101

BOOK IV severely wounded, his army panic-struck and dispersed, and the city without defenders, they might have taken Patna with the greatest ease. But they employed themselves in ravaging the open country and in receiving messengers and overtures from Rammurah till the 19th of February when they learned that Meeran and the English were distant from them but twenty-eight miles. The resolution was taken to march and engage them the next day the two armies approached. Colonel Calliaud urged immediate attack but Meeran and his astrologers found that the stars would not be favourable before the 22nd. Early on the morning of that day Calliaud was in motion but before he could reach the enemy the day was so far spent, by the insufferable delays, as he himself complains, of Meeran's march," that, wishing to have time before him, he was unwilling to engage till the following morning. The enemy however advanced, and Calliaud drew up his men between two villages which covered both his flanks, advising Meeran to form a second line, the whole of which, except the two wings, would have been covered by the English and the villages. But though this was agreed upon, he crowded his army upon the right, and, in spite of the most pressing and repeated solicitations presented to battle a body of 15,000 men, with a front of scarcely 200 yards in a tumultuous unformed heap." With a feigned appearance of directing the main attack upon the English, the enemy advanced with the best part of their army against Meeran, who in about ten minutes began to give way. Colonel Calliaud, however marched with a battalion of Sepoys to his aid, and immediately decided the fate of the day. The Sepoys drew up within forty yards upon the enemy's flank, and having poured in a couple of fires, advanced with the bayonet, when the enemy recoiled upon one another and fell into confusion, and, being charged with Meeran's cavalry dispersed and fled. Calliaud was eager to pursue, but Meeran, who had received a trifling wound in the battle, preferred an interval of ease and pleasure at Patna. He would not even permit the service to be performed without him and though Calliaud offered to proceed with his own troops alone, if only a few horse, which he earnestly entreated, were granted him, he found all he could urge without avail.

The Emperor fled the same night to Bihar, a town about ten miles from the field of battle. Here a measure of great promise suggested itself to leave Meeran and the English behind and, marching with the utmost expedition to Bengal, surprise Moorshedabad, and take the Nabob prisoner. It was the 29th of the month before Meeran could be prevailed upon to abandon the indulgences of Patna, when he and the English marched towards Bihar, and were surprised to learn that the enemy had already performed two marches towards Bengal. The strongest motives pressed for despatch; the English embarked in boats, and along with Meeran's cavalry in three days overtook the foe, who adopted a bold and politic resolution. No longer able to proceed along the river, the Emperor directed his march across the mountains, and Calliaud still resolved to follow his steps. The route was long and difficult, and it was near the end of March before the Emperor emerged on the plains of Bengal, about thirty miles west from Moorshedabad. During this interval, intelligence was in sufficient time received by Jaffer to enable him to collect an army and obtain a body of 200 Europeans from Calcutta; but the Emperor was joined by a body of Mahrattas, who had lately broken into that part of the country, and had he rapidly attacked the Nabob, he still enjoyed, in the opinion of Calliaud, the fairest prospect of success. But he lingered till Meeran and the English joined the Nabob on the 4th of April, and on the 7th, when they advanced to attack him, he set fire to his camp and fled. Calliaud again urged for cavalry to pursue, and again was absolutely refused.

One object of hope was even yet reserved to the Emperor. By the precipitation with which his pursuers had followed him, Patna was left in a miserable state of defence. Could he return with expedition, and anticipate the arrival of succour, it must fall into his hands. At this very time M Law, with his small body of Frenchmen, passing that capital, to join the Emperor, who had again invited him from Chitterpoole, threw it into the greatest alarm. It was almost entirely destitute of the means of defence, but Law was ignorant of its situation, and proceeded to Bihar, to wait for the Emperor. At this time the Naib of Poorania took off the mask, espousing openly the cause of the

BOOK IV Emperor and had he seized the present opportunity of
CHAP V marching to Patna, nothing could have prevented it from

 1760. falling into his hands. The exertions, however of Rammurain, and of the gentlemen of the English factory had collected, before the Emperor was able to arrive, a sufficient body of defenders to secure the city against the first impression and Colonel Callaud, who foresaw the danger formed a detachment of 200 chosen Europeans, and a battalion of Sepoys, of which he gave the command to Captain Knox, and commanded them to march with the utmost expedition to Patna. The Emperor had lost no time in commencing the siege and after several days of vigorous operation, during which Mr Fullerton, the English Surgeon, and Raja Shitabroy had distinguished themselves peculiarly within the walls, Law attempted an assault. Though repulsed, he, in two days, renewed the attempt; and, part of the wall being demolished, the rampart was scaled. The enemy were still compelled to retire; but the city was now thrown into the greatest alarm a renewed assault was expected the following night; and scarcely a hope was entertained of its being withheld when Captain Knox, with a flying party was seen approaching the walls. He had performed the march from Moornshedabad to Patna, under the burning heat of a Bengal sun, in the extraordinary space of thirteen days, himself marching on foot, as an example and encouragement to the men. That very night the Captain reconnoitred the enemy's camp in person and next day watching the hour of afternoon's repose, surprised them when asleep, and drove them from their works, to which they never returned.

While the Emperor conscious of his weakness, with drew to the neighbourhood of Teekauri waiting the result of his applications to the Abdalle Shah, who was now commanding, from the ancient seat of the Mogul government, the whole of the upper provinces of Hindustan, the Naib or Deputy Governor of Poorania had collected his army and was on the march to join him. To counteract his designs, the English army under Callaud, and that of Jaffer under Mooran, rendezvoused at Rajo-mahl, on the 23d of May. They moved upwards on the one side of the river the Naib advancing on the other; and orders were

forwarded to Captain Knox to cross over from Patna, and BOOK IV, harass his march till the main army should arrive, while CHAP V his boats, which were not able to ascend the river so fast as he marched, were overtaken and seized. Captain Knox amazed the inhabitants of Patna by declaring his resolution, as soon as the enemy appeared, of crossing the river with his handful of men and giving them battle. Part of Ramnarain's troops were placed under his command, but as the enterprise appeared to them an act of madness, they formed a determined resolution to have no share in it. Raja Shitabroy having between two and three hundred men in his pay, with whom he had performed important services in the defence of Patna, joined the Captain with a real disposition to act. Two hundred Europeans, one battalion of Sepoys, five field-pieces, and about 300 horse, marched to engage an army of 12,000 men, with thirty pieces of cannon. Arrived within a few miles of the enemy, Knox proceeded in the dark to the quarters of Shitabroy, to communicate his design of surprising the enemy's camp during the night. He found that gallant associate fully prepared to second his ardour, the troops were allowed a few hours for repose, and a little after midnight they began to march. The guide having missed his way from the darkness of the night, they wandered till within two hours of day-break, and having lost the time for attacking the enemy by surprise, abandoned the design. They had laid down their arms, and prepared themselves for a little repose, when the vanguard of the enemy appeared. The gallantry of Knox allowed not a moment's hesitation. He took his ground with skill, and though completely surrounded by the enemy, repulsed them at every point, sustained a conflict of six hours, in which Shitabroy fought with the greatest activity and resolution, and having compelled them at last to quit the field, pursued them till night¹.

¹ The author of the Seer Mutakhareen, who had a distant view of the battle from the walls of Patna, describes, with much effect, the alternation of hopes and fears which agitated the inhabitants, as the various reports of the battle reached the city, or the tokens which came to their eyes and their ears were variously interpreted. At last, he says, 'when the day was far spent, a note came to Mr Amyatt from Captain Knox, which mentioned that the enemy was despatched and flying. This intelligence was sent to all the principal men of the city, and caused a deal of joy. I went to the factory to compliment the gentlemen, when in the dusk of the evening Captain Knox himself crossed over, and

BOOK IV In consequence of this defeat, the Naib postponed his resolution of joining the Emperor and marched towards the north. In a few days Callaud and Meeran crossed the Ganges to pursue him, and, as his army was encumbered with baggage and artillery soon overtook him. He immediately formed his line, as if to engage but unloading the treasure, and the most valuable part of the baggage, putting it upon camels and elephants and skirmishing only till the English came up, he marched away with great expedition, leaving his heavy baggage and artillery behind. The rains were now set in with unusual violence, yet Callaud, animated by the reports of the rich treasure (the English were credulous on the subject of treasure) which the Naib carried in his train, resolved to make the utmost exertions to overtake him before he could reach the forests and mountains. The pursuit had been continued four days, when during the night of the 2nd of July which proved exceedingly tempestuous, the tent of Meeran was struck with lightning, and he, with all his attendants, was killed on the spot. The death of their leader is, to an Indian army the signal to disband. The probability of this event, which would deliver the province of Bahar into the hands of the Emperor struck the English commander with the utmost alarm. His whole attention was now occupied in keeping the army together till re-conducted to Patna, toward which he marched with

came with Shabrooy in his company. They were both covered with dust and sweat. The Captain then gave some detail of the battle, and paid the greatest excomiums on Shabrooy's real activity and alacrity. He extolled several times, This is real Nawab; I never saw such Nawab in my life. A few moments after Hammerain was introduced. He had in his company both Moustapha Kassies Khan, and the Cawval of the city. With some other men of consequence, who, on hearing of the arrival of these two men, had flocked to the factory, and on seeing them alone could not help believing that they had escaped from the slaughter; so far were they from fearing that few hundreds of men could defeat a whole army. Nor could they be made to believe (impressed as they were with Hindoo notions) that a commander could quit his army so unadornedly unless he had suffered ruin. From it poor would listen to what Mr. Anjorat repeatedly said, to convince Hammerain and others of their mistake. See Mactathores, p. 123.

Callaud, on this occasion, too, complained heavily of Meeran. The young Nabob and his troops behaved in the skirmish in their usual manner, halting above half a mile in the rear, nor ever once made motion to sustain the English. Had he but acted on this occasion with the least appearance of spirit, and even a semblance of fighting, the affair must have proved decisive; nor could Oodien Illeswara Khan or his treasure have escaped. Callaud's Mactathore, p. 24.

BOOK IV exhausted treasury an exhausted country and vast engagements to discharge, he was urged to the severest exactions while the profusion with which he wasted his treasure upon his own person, and some unworthy favour ites, was ill calculated to soothe the wretched people, under the privations to which they were compelled. The cruelties of which he and Meeran were guilty made them objects of general detestation the negligence, disorder and weakness of their government, exposed them to contempt and their troops, always mutinous from the length of their arrears, threatened them every moment with fatal extremities When the news arrived at Moorshedabad of the death of Meeran, the troops surrounded the palace, scaled the walls, and threatened the Nabob with instant death ; nor were they in all probability prevented from executing their menaces, otherwise than by the interference of Meer Casim, his son-in-law who, on promise of succeeding to the place and prospects of Meeran, discharged a part of their arrears from his own treasury and induced them to accept of Jaffer's engagements to pay the whole within a limited time.

When Clive resigned the government of Bengal, instead of leaving the elevation to the chair in the established order of succession, his influence was successfully exerted to procure the nomination of Mr Vansittart, who was called from Madras. Mr Holwell, on whose pretensions there had been violent debates in the Court of Directors, was promoted to the office in virtue of his seniority till July when Mr Vansittart arrived. The new governor found the treasury at Calcutta empty the English troops at Patna on the very brink of mutiny and deserting in multitudes for want of pay the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay totally dependent upon Bengal for pecuniary resources the provision of an investment actually suspended the income of the Company scarcely sufficient for the current expenses of Calcutta the allowance paid by the Nabob for the troops several months in arrear ; and the attainment of that, as well as of a large balance upon his first agreements, totally hopeless. Some change by which the revenue of the Company could be placed on a level with their expenditure, was indispensable. They

The necessity of an increased expenditure, and the total want of funds for defraying it, under the arrangements of Clive, is satisfactorily demonstrated

BOOK IV and Mr Vansittart wavered. Meer Casum, who could be
CHAPTER V safe no longer in the power of Jaffer exclaimed against
160. the perfidy of making and not fulfilling an engagement
such as that which was contracted between them and
formed his resolution of joining the Emperor with all his
treasure and troops. The resolution of Mr Vansittart
was at last confirmed and a favourable moment was
chosen for occupying the palace of Jaffer with the troops.
When assured that no designs against his person or
authority were entertained; that nothing was proposed
beyond a reform of his government in the hands of his
son-in-law who would act as his deputy he replied, with
d disdain, that he was no stranger to the meaning of such
language and too well acquainted with the characters of
men, particularly that of his son-in-law to be in doubt
respecting the consequences. He peremptorily refused to
remain a van pageant of royalty and desired permission
to retire to Calcutta, to lead a private life under the
English protection.¹

When the pecuniary distresses of the Company's go-
vernment, and the enormous disclosures in that of the
Nabob, were under the deliberation of the board at Cal-
cutta, there was but one opinion concerning the necessity
of some important change. To vest Meer Casum with the
power requisite for reforming the government of the
Nabob, was the plan approved of unanimously in the
Select Committee. The force which might be necessary
to subdue his reluctance was provided and though it was
not anticipated that he would resign the government
rather than comply the step which that resolution made
necessary was a natural consequence and was without
hesitation decreed. When Mr Vansittart returned to
Calcutta on the 7th of November he found there were
persons by whom those measures were by no means ap-
proved. Mr Verelst and Mr Smyth, two members of the
Council, who were not of the Select Committee, entered a
minute on the 8th, in which they complained that a mea-
sure of so much importance had not been submitted to

First Report of the Committee in 1773; Vansittart's Narrative, I. 19—123; Holwell's Memorial; Scrofton's Observations on Vansittart's Narrative; Van-
sittart's Letter to the Proprietors of East India Stock in answer to Scrofton; Verelst's View of the English Government in Bengal; Seer Mahakbaron, II.
130—158; Scott's Hist. of Bengal, p. 399—401.

BOOK IV friends were tortured to make confession of hidden treasures his life was only for the moment spared, lest the indignation of the English should be too violently roused
 CHAP V ——————
 1761 and after all, the quantity of treasure which he was found to possess was insignificant, a sum barely sufficient for the daily expenses of his government.

This was the fatal error of Mr Venetia's administration because it extinguished among the natives of rank all confidence in the English protection; and because the enormity to which, in this instance, he had lent his support, created an opinion of a weak or a corrupt partiality and diminished the weight of his interference when the Nabob was really the party aggrieved. For now began the memorable disputes between the Nabob and the Company's service about the internal trade and, at the same time, such changes were produced in the Council at Calcutta, as impaired considerably the Governor's power. These changes constitute an incident in the history of the Company the memory of which is of peculiar importance.

Just before Colonel Clive resigned the government in Bengal, the 147th paragraph of one of the last of the despatches, to which he affixed his name, addressed the Court of Directors in the following terms — Having fully spoken to every branch of your affairs at this Presidency under their established heads, we cannot, consistent with the real anxiety we feel for the future welfare of that respectable body from whom you and we are in trust, close this address without expostulating with freedom on the unprovoked and general asperity of your letter *per Prince Henry packet*. Our sentiments on this head, will, we doubt not, acquire additional weight, from the consideration of of their being subscribed by a majority of your Council, who are, at this very period, quitting your service, and consequently independent and disinterested. Permit us to say that the diction of your letter is most unworthy yourselves and us, in whatever relation considered, either as masters to servants, or gentlemen to gentlemen. More inadvertencies, and casual neglects, arising from an un-

Venetia's Narrative, II. 141—271; The evidence of Carnac and Coote in the First Report, and that of Clive, McGuire, and Carnac, in the Third Report of the Committee, 1773; Scott's Hist. of Bengal, p. 404—460. See Matikarneen, II. 160—11; Verelst's View of the English Government in Bengal p. 47.

avoidable and most complicated confusion in the state of BOOK IV. your affairs, have been treated in such language and sentiments, as nothing but the most glaring and premeditated faults could warrant. Groundless informations have, without further scrutiny, borne with you the stamp of truth, though proceeding from those who had therein obviously their own purpose to serve, no matter at whose expense These have received from you such countenance and encouragement, as must most assuredly tend to cool the warmest zeal of your servants here and every where lse, as they will appear to have been only the source of general reflections, thown out at random against your faithful servants of this Presidency, in various parts of your letter now before us,—faithful to little purpose,— if the breath of scandal joined to private pique or private or personal attachments, have power to blow away in one hour the merits of many years' services, and deprive them of that rank, and those rising benefits, which are justly a spur to their integrity and application The little attention shown to these considerations in the indiscriminate favours heaped on some individuals, and undeserved censures on others, will, we apprehend, lessen that spirit of zeal so very essential to the well-being of your affairs, and, consequently, in the end, if continued, prove the destruction of them Private views may, it is much to be feared, take the lead here, from examples at home, and no gentlemen hold your service longer, nor exert themselves further in it, than their own exigencies require This being the real present state of your service, it becomes strictly our duty to represent it in the strongest light, or we should, with little truth, and less propriety, subscribe ourselves,

“May it please your Honours,

“Your most faithful servants,

“ROBERT CLIVE,

“J Z HOLWELL,

“WM. B SUMNER,

“W M'GUIRE.”

The Company were even then no strangers to what they have become better acquainted with the longer they have acted, to that which, from the very nature of their authority, and from their local circumstances, it was evident

CHAP V

1761.

BOOK IV they must experience a disregard of their orders, when
 CHAP V contrary to the interests or passions of their servants
 1761. but as they never before had a servant of such high pretensions, and so audacious a character as Clive, they had never before been treated with so much contumely in words. They were moved accordingly to resent it highly. In the very first paragraph of their general letter to Bengal, dated the 21st of January 1761, they said, We have taken under our most serious consideration the general letter from our late President and council of Fort William, dated the 29th December 1759 and many paragraphs theron containing gross insults upon and indignities offered to the Court of Directors tending to the subversion of our authority over our servants, and a dissolution of all order and good government in the Company's affairs to put an immediate stop therefore to this evil, we do positively order and direct, that, immediately upon receipt of this letter all those persons still remaining in the Company's service, who signed the said letter viz. Messieurs John Zephaniah Holwell, Charles Stafford Flaydell, William Brightwell Sumner and William McGuire, be dismissed from the Company's service and you are to take care that they be not permitted, on any consideration, to continue in India, but that they are to be sent to England by the first ships which return home the same season you receive this letter.

The dismissal of which this letter was the signal, not only gave a majority in the Council to the party by whom Vansittart was opposed but sent Mr Ellis, the most intemperate and arbitrary of all his opponents, to the chief ship of the factory at Patna. He treated the Nabob with the most insulting airs of authority and broke through all respect for his government. So early as the month of January he gave his orders to the commander of the troops to seize and keep prisoner one of the Nabob's collectors, who had raised some difficulties in permitting a quantity of opium, the private property of one of the Company's servants to pass duty free as the property of the Company. This outrage the discretion of the officer avoided, by suspending obedience to the order and sending a letter to the Nabob, to redress by his own authority whatever might appear to be wrong. About the same time another servant of the Nabob, a man of high connections and influence,

purchased for the Nabob's use a quantity of nitre But BOOK IV.
the monopoly of the saltpetre trade had been conveyed to CHAP V
the Company Though an exception in favour of the —————
Nabob to the extent of his own consumption was, from
standing usage, so much understood, that to express it
had appeared altogether useless and vain, this purchase
was converted by Mr Ellis into such an invasion of the
English rights, that the Nabob was not to be consulted in
the punishment of his own servant The unfortunate man
was seized, put in irons, and sent down a prisoner to
Calcutta, to receive whatever chastisement the Council
might direct It required the utmost address and power
of the President to get him sent back to be punished by
his master As to sending him back for the purpose of
ascertaining whether he was guilty or innocent, that was a
preliminary which it would have been absurd to propose.
Some of the Council insisted that he should be publicly
whipped at Calcutta, others, that he should have his ears
cut off Not many days after these violent proceedings,
Mr Ellis, having heard, by vague report, that two English
deserters were concealed in the fort of Mongeer, despatched
a company of Sepoys, with orders to receive the deserters,
or to search the fort The Governor declared that no
Europeans were there, and for ampler satisfaction carried
two officers of the Company round the fort From appre-
hension, however, of some evil design, or from a very
plain principle of military duty, he refused without orders
to admit a body of armed men, shut the gates, and
threatened to fire upon them if they approached the walls
This Mi Ellis treated as the highest excess of insolence,
and obstinately refused to withdraw the Sepoys till they,
had searched the fort By these repeated invasions of his
government, the pride of the Nabob was deeply wounded.
He complained to the President in bitter terms, and with
reason declared that the example, which was set by the
servants of the Company, of trampling upon his authority
deprived him of all dignity in the eyes of his subjects, and
rendered it vain to hope for their obedience After a dis-
pute of three months, during which Ellis was supported
by the Council, the difference was compromised, by the
Nabob's consenting to admit any person to search the fort
whom Mr Vansittart should name, when Lieutenant Iron-
side, after the strictest investigation, was convinced that no

1761

BOOK IV European whatsoever except an old French invader, whose freedom Mr Hastings procured, had been in the fort.

1762.

Hitherto Moor Cazim had conducted his government with no ordinary success. He had reduced to obedience all the rebellious Zamindars. What was of still greater importance, he had, as was declared by the President, in his minute of the 22nd of March, 1762, discharged the whole of his pecuniary obligations to the English and satisfied both his own and his predecessor's troops.¹ He had extorted money with unsparring hands from the Zamindars and other functionaries. In the financial department of his government, he was clear-sighted, vigilant, and severe. He had introduced a strict economy without appearance of avarice, in his whole expenditure and he had made considerable progress in new-modelling and improving his army when the whole internal economy of his government became involved in disorder by the pretensions of the Company's servants.

In India, as under most uncivilized governments, the transit of goods within the country was made subject to duties and upon all the roads and navigable rivers, toll-houses, or custom-houses, (in the language of the country *chakrys*) were erected, which had power of stopping the goods, till the duties were levied. By the rude and oppressive nature of the government these custom houses were exceedingly multiplied; and in long carriages the inconvenience of numerous stoppages and payments was very severe. As in all other departments of the government, so in this, there was nothing regular and fixed the duties varied at different times and different places and a wide avenue was always open for the extortion of the collectors. The internal trade of the country was by these causes subject to ruinous obstructions.

The English Company had at an early period availed themselves of a favourable opportunity to solicit exemption from such oppressive interruptions and expense and the rulers of the country who felt in their revenues the benefits of foreign commerce, granted a *patent* by which the export and import trade of the Company was completely relieved, as both the goods which they imported

¹ His payments to the Company consisted of twenty-six lacs of seven rupees of Rs. 8*1/2*, together with fifty-three lacs of current rupees, of Rs. 4*1/2* derived from the ceded districts. See Vansittart's *Mahratta*, II. 22.

were allowed to pass into the interior, and those which they purchased in the interior for exportation were allowed to pass to the sea without either stoppage or duties A certificate, signed by the English President, or chiefs of factories, (in the language of the country a *dustuck*), shown at the toll-houses or chokeys, protected the property The Company, however, engrossed to themselves the import and export trade between India and Europe, and limited the private trade of their servants to the business of the country The benefit of this exemption therefore accrued to the Company alone, and though attempts had been sometimes made to extend the protection of the Company's dustuck to the trade carried on by their servants in the interior, this had been always vigorously opposed by the Subahdars, both as defrauding the public revenue, and injuring the native merchants

BOOK IV
CHAP V

1762

No sooner had the English acquired an ascendancy in the government by the dethronement of Suraj-ad-dowla, and the elevation of Meer Jaffier, than the servants of the Company broke through the restraints which had been imposed upon them by former Subahdars, and engaged largely in the interior trade of the country At first, however, they carried not their pretensions beyond certain bounds, and they paid the same duties which were levied on the subjects of the Nabob It appears not that during the administration of Clive, any of the Company's servants, unless clandestinely, attempted to trade on any other terms According, however, as they acquired experience of their power over the government of the country, and especially after the fresh and signal instance of it, the elevation of a new sovereign in the person of Meer Casim, the Company's dustuck or passport, which was only entitled to protect the goods of actual exportation and importation, was employed by the Company's agents of all descriptions to protect their private trade in every part of the country So great was now the ascendancy of the English name, that the collectors or officers at the chokeys or toll-houses, who were fully aware of the dependence of their own government on the power and pleasure of the English, dared not in general to scrutinize the use which was made of the Company's dustuck, or to stop the goods which it fraudulently screened. The Company's servants, whose goods were thus conveyed entirely free from duty, while

BOOK IV those of all other merchants were heavily burdened, were
 CHAP V rapidly getting into their own hands the whole trade of
 1762. the country and thus drying up one of the sources of the
 public revenue. When the collectors of these tolls, or
 transit duties, questioned the power of the dustuck, and
 stopped the goods, it was customary to send a party of
 Sepoys to seize the offender and carry him prisoner to the
 nearest factory. Meer Casim was hardly seated on the
 musnud, when grievous complaints of these enormities
 came up to him from all quarters, and he presented the
 strongest remonstrances to the President of the Council.
 In his letter to the Governor dated March 26th, 1762, he
 says, From the factory of Caloutta to Cossimbazar Patna,
 and Dacca, all the English chiefs, with their gomastahs, offi-
 cers and agents in every district of the government, act as
 collectors, renters, and magistrates, and setting up the Com-
 pany's colours, allow no power to my officers. And besides
 this, the gomastahs and other servants in every district, in
 every market and village, carry on a trade in oil, fish, straw
 bamboo, rice, paddy betel-nut, and other things and
 every man with a Company's dustuck in his hand regards
 himself as not less than the Company. It is abundantly
 proved that the picture drawn by the Nabob was not
 overcharged. Mr Hastings, in a letter to the President,
 dated Bawlpore, 25th April, 1762, said, "I beg to lay
 before you a grievance, which loudly calls for redress, and
 will, unless duly attended to, render ineffectual any endeav-
 ours to create a firm and lasting harmony between the
 Nabob and the Company — I mean, the oppressions com-
 mitted under the sanction of the English name, and
 through the want of spirit to oppose them. This evil I
 am well assured, is not confined to our dependants alone
 but is practised all over the country by people falsely
 assuming the habit of our Sepoys, or calling themselves
 our gomastahs. As on such occasions the great power of
 the English intimidates the people from making any re-
 sistance; so, on the other hand, the indolence of the
 Bengalees, or the difficulty of gaining access to those who
 might do them justice, prevents our having knowledge of
 the oppressions. I have been surprised to meet with sev-
 eral English flags flying in places which I have passed;
 and on the river I do not believe that I passed a boat
 without one. By whatever title they have been assumed,

I am sure their frequency can bode no good to the Nabob's revenues, the quiet of the country, or the honour of our nation —A party of Sepoys, who were on the march before us, afforded sufficient proofs of the rapacious and insolent spirit of those people, where they are left to their own discretion Many complaints against them were made me on the road, and most of the petty towns and serais were deserted at our approach, and the shops shut up from the apprehensions of the same treatment from us,"¹

BOOK IV
CHAP V

1762

At first the Governor attempted to redress these evils by gentle means, by cautioning the servants of the Company, by soothing the irritation of the Nabob, and lending his own authority to enable the native toll-gatherers to check the illegitimate traffic of the English The mischief, however, increased. The efforts of the collectors were not only resisted, and the collectors themselves punished as heinous offenders on the spot, but these attempts of theirs excited the loudest complaints, they were represented as daring violations of the Company's rights, and undoubted evidence of a design on the part of the Nabob to expel the English from the country As usual, one species of enormity introduced another When the officers of government submitted to oppression, it necessarily followed that the people must submit At the present time it is difficult to believe, even after the most undeniable proof, that it became a common practice to force the unhappy natives, both to buy the goods of the Company's servants, and of all those who procured the use of their name, at a greater, and to sell to the Company's servants the goods which they desired to purchase, at a less than the market price The native judges and magistrates

¹ Mr Verelst says, (View of Bengal, p 8 and 46) "The reader must here be informed, that a trade, free from duties, had been claimed by the Company's servants, supported by their forces, and established by the last treaty with Meer Jaffier, and that this article, though condemned by the Directors, was afterwards transcribed into the treaty with his son Nudjum al Dowlah The contention during two years with Meer Cossim, in support of this trade, greatly weakened the country government, which his subsequent overthrow quite annihilated At this time many black merchants found it expedient to purchase the name of any young writer in the Company's service, by loans of money, and under this sanction harassed and oppressed the natives So plentiful a supply was derived from this source, that many young writers were enabled to spend 1500*l* and 2000*l* per annum, were clothed in fine linen, and fared sumptuously every day"—"A trade was carried on without payment of duties, in the prosecution of which infinite oppressions were committed English agents or gomastahs, not contented with injuring the people, trampled on the authority of government, blinding and punishing the Nabob's officers, whenever they presumed to interfere This was the immediate cause of the war with Meer Cossim "

BOOK IV were resisted in the discharge of their duties and even
 CHAP V their functions were usurped. The whole frame of the
 1762. government was relaxed and in many places the Zamindars
 and other collectors refused to be answerable for the
 revenues.¹

The President, aware of the prejudices which were fostered, by a majority of the board, against both the Nabob and himself, submitted not to their deliberation these disorders and disputes, till he found his own authority inadequate to redress them. The representations, presented to them, of the enormities to which the private trade of the Company's servants gave birth in the country were treated, by the majority of the Council, as the effect of a weak or interested subservience to the views of the Nabob while they received the complaints of the servants and their agents against the native officers, more often in fault, according to Hastings and Vansittart, from laxity than tyranny as proofs of injustice demanding immediate punishment, and of hostile designs against which effec-

The following letter to the Nabob from one of his officers, affords specimen of the complaints; it is dated Backergunge, May 23 1781. "The situation of affairs at this place obliges me to apply to your honour for instructions for any further proceedings.—My instructions which I brought here were, that in case any Europeans or their servants committed any disorders, they were to be sent to Calcutta, notwithstanding any pretence they shall make for so doing—Notwithstanding the rigour of those orders, I have ever made it my business (when anything truly happened) to endeavour by gentle means, to persuade the gentleman's gomastah here to set in peaceable manner; which, although repeated several times, has had no effect; but, on the contrary, has occasioned their writing complaints of me to their respective masters, that I obstructed them in their business, and ill-used them; and in return I have received menacing letters from several gentlemen, threatening if I interfere with their servants, to use such measures as I may repeat nor have the gentlemen only done this, their very gomastahs have made it publick here, that in case I stay them in any proceeding, they will use the same methods, of the truth of which I have good proofs. Now Sir I am to inform you what I have obstructed them in. This place was of great trade formerly, but is now brought to nothing by the following practice. A gentleman sends gomastah here to buy or sell. He immediately looks upon himself as sufficient to force every inhabitant, either to buy his goods or sell him theirs; and on refusal, (in case of non-capacity) dragging or confinement immediately ensues. This is not sufficient even when willing, but second force is made use of, which is to engross the different branches of trade to themselves, and not to suffer any persons to buy or sell the articles they trade in; and if the country people do it, then repetition of their authority is put in practice; and again, what things they purchase, they think the least they can do is, to take them for considerable deal less than another merchant, and oftentimes refuse paying that, and my interfering occasions an incessant complaint.—These, and many other oppressions which are daily practised, is the reason that this place is growing deserts of inhabitants, &c.—Before, justice was given in the public courts, but now every gomastah is become judge they even pass sentence on the Zamindars themselves, and draw money from them by pretended injuries. Vansittart's Narrative II. 112.

tual securities could not be too speedily taken Of the BOOK IV Council a great proportion were deriving vast emoluments from the abuses, the existence of which they denied , and the President obtained support from Mr Hastings alone, in his endeavours to check enormities, which, a few years afterwards, the Court of Directors, the President, the servants of the Company themselves, and the whole world, joined in reprobating, with every term of condemnation and abhorrence

1762

Observing the progress of these provocations and resentments, Vansittart anticipated nothing but the calamity of war, unless some effectual measures could be adopted to prevent them Dependence upon the English, though it had been light, was a yoke which the Nabob would doubtless have been very willing to throw off This presumed inclination the majority of the Council treated as a determined purpose , and every measure of his administration was, according to them, a proof of his hostile designs The Nabob, aware of the strength of the party to whom his elevation was an object of aversion, naturally considered the friendship of the English as a tenure far from secure The report was spread, that the views of his enemies would be adopted in England , and it is no wonder if, against a contingency so very probable, he was anxious to be prepared Vansittart, however, who was not mistaken as to the interest which the Nabob had in maintaining his connexion with the English, and his want of power to contend with them, remained assured of his disposition to peace, unless urged by provocations too great for his temper to endure He formed the plan, therefore, of a meeting with Meer Casim, in hopes that, by mutual explanations and concessions, there might be drawn, between the rights of the government on the one hand, and the pretensions of the Company's servants on the other, such a line of demarcation as would preclude all future injuries and complaints With Mr Hastings, as a coadjutor, he arrived at Mongeei on the 30th of November, and was received with all the marks of cordiality and friendship After some bitter complaints, the Nabob agreed that all preceding animosities should be consigned to oblivion, and that the present interview should be wholly employed in preventing the recurrence of such

BOOK IV (which, however all preceding Nabobs had disallowed) to the internal trade, and that it was out of compliment, not by obligation, that they had in any case consented to the payment of duties. It was decided, after many words, that, as an acknowledgement to the Nabob, and out of their own liberality and free choice, they would pay a duty of two and a half per cent. upon the article of salt alone, and no other instead of the nine per cent. upon all articles for which Vanittart had agreed. It was, however at the same time decreed, that all disputes between the gomastahs of the English, and the subjects of the native government, should be referred, not to the native tribunals, but to the heads of factories and residents that is, should be referred to men, not only in the great majority of cases far too distant to receive the complaints but, what was still more shameful, men reaping exorbitant profits from the abuses over which they were thus exclusively vested with the judicial power.

When Vanittart took leave of the Nabob, he was setting out upon an expedition against the kingdom of Nepaul, a small country completely surrounded, after the manner of Cashmere, by the northern mountains. It was a country which the Mohammedan arms had never reached and on the subject of its riches, oriental credulity influenced by the report of its yielding gold, had room for unlimited expansion. The conquest of a country abounding with gold, held out irresistible temptations to the Nabob. He ascended the ridge of mountains by which it is separated from Bengal but he was met by the Nepalese in a dangerous pass and, after a contest, which appalled him, abandoned the enterprise. He was met, upon his return, by accounts of the reception which the regulations of Vanittart had experienced in the Council of the resistance which had been opposed to his officers in their attempts to execute his orders; and of the seizure and imprisonment which in various instances they had undergone. He wrote, in terms of the highest indignation; and called upon the English to relieve him from the burden of the Subahdarry since they deprived him of the powers with out which the government of the country could not be carried on. His patience was nearly exhausted: he now therefore, executed his resolution of abandoning all duties

on the transit of goods, and laid the interior trade of his **BOOK IV**
country perfectly open

CHAP V

The conduct of the Company's servants, upon this occasion, furnishes one of the most remarkable instances upon record, of the power of interest to extinguish all sense of justice, and even of shame They had hitherto insisted, contrary to all right and all precedent, that the government of the country should exempt their goods from duty They now insisted that it should impose duties upon the goods of all other traders , and accused it as guilty of a breach of peace toward the English nation, because it proposed to remit them¹

1763

To enforce these conditions, and yet to maintain the appearance of omitting no effort to obtain the consent of the Nabob, it was proposed in the Council to send to him a deputation. For this purpose, Mr Amyatt and Mr Hay volunteered their services They departed with their instructions on the 4th of April. In the meantime, in all parts of the country, the disputes between the officers of the government and the Company's servants, were carried to the greatest height Many complaints arrived at Calcutta of the resistance which the gomastahs of the English experienced in the conduct of their business, and even of the outrages to which they were sometimes exposed On the other hand, a multitude of instances were produced, in which the English Sepoys had been employed to seize and bind, and beat the officers of the government, and to protect the agents of the Company's servants in all the enormities and operessions which they exercised upon the

¹ In the Council, the President and Mr Hastings were, as before, the only dissentients, and said (see their minute, Consultation, March 24), "We cannot think the Nabob to blame (in abolishing the duties), nor do we see how he could do otherwise For although it may be for our interest to determine, that we will have all the trade in our hands, take every article of the produce of the country off the ground at the first hand, and afterwards send it where we please free of customs, yet it is not to be expected that the Nabob will join with us in endeavouring to deprive all the merchants of the country of the means of carrying on their business, which must undoubtedly soon be the case, if they are obliged to pay heavy duties, and we trade in every article on the footing before mentioned —Neither in our opinion could the Nabob in such circumstances, collect enough to pay the expense of the chokers, collectors, &c As to the Nabob's rights to lay trade open, it is our opinion, that the Nizam of every province has a right to anything for the relief of the merchants trading under his protection " Vansittart, iii. 74 —W There can be no difference of opinion on these proceedings The narrow-sighted selfishness of commercial cupidity, had rendered all the members of the Council, with the two honourable exceptions of Vansittart and Hastings, obstinately inaccessible to the plainest dictates of reason, justice, and policy —W

BOOK IV and answered the command which he received for that purpose by firing upon the Nabob's people, the boats were immediately boarded, and in the struggle he himself, with several others, was slain.

1.63.

Both parties now hastened to take the field. The Nabob was speedily encouraged by tidings from Patna. After Captain Cartairs, the officer commanding the English troops, which were sent a little before day-break on the morning of the 25th to surprise Patna, had, without much difficulty finding the guards for the most part off their duty scaled the walls and after the Governor of Patna, who suddenly collected a portion of the garrison, and made a very short resistance, had left the city and fled towards Mongheer the English, masters of the whole place, except the citadel, and a strong palace, into which an officer had thrown himself, broke through the rules of prudence as much in the prosecution, as they had broken through those of caution in the commencement of their operations. The troops were allowed to disperse, and were plundering the houses of the inhabitants when the Governor who had only marched a few miles before he met a detachment which had been sent to reinforce him from Mongheer receiving at the same time intelligence of the resistance made by the citadel and palace, returned. The English were ill prepared to receive him. After a slight resistance they spiked their cannon, and retired to their factory. It was soon surrounded when, fear taking place of their recent temerity they evacuated the place during the night, and taking to their boats which were stationed at their cantonments at Bankipore they fled up the river to Chopperah, and towards the frontiers of Oude, where being attacked by the Fojedar of Sirkaur Sarun, they laid down their arms. The factory at Coimbulwar was plundered about the same time and all the English who belonged to it, as well as those who had fled from Patna, were sent prisoners to Mongheer.

It had, some time before, been determined in the Council, the President and Mr Hastings refusing to concur that in case of a war with Meer Qasum, the door should be closed against accommodation, by divesting him of the government, and elevating another person to his throne. When the melancholy death, therefore, of Mr

Amyatt became known, a negotiation was immediately commenced with Meer Jaffier, whose puerile passion to reign made him eager to promise compliance with any conditions which were proposed. Besides confirming the grant which had been obtained from Meer Casim of the revenues of the provinces of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, for defraying the expense of the English troops employed in the defence of the country, the new Subahdar granted exemption to the trade of the Company's servants from all duties, except the two and a half per cent which these servants themselves, out of their own liberality, agreed to pay upon the single article of salt. He consented also to rescind the ordinance of Meer Casim for the general remission of commercial imposts, and to levy the ancient duties upon all except the English dealers. He engaged to maintain 12,000 horse, and 12,000 foot, to pay to the Company thirty lacs of rupees, on account of their losses and the expense of the war, to reimburse the personal losses of individuals, and to permit no Europeans but English to erect fortifications in the country.

On the 2d of July the English army was ordered to march from Ghurettee. It consisted of 650 Europeans, and 1200 Sepoys, exclusive of the black cavalry, commanded by Major Adams, of the King's Eighty-fourth regiment, and was afterwards joined by 100 Europeans and a battalion of Sepoys from Midnapore. After concluding the treaty on the 11th, the new Nabob proceeded to the army, which he joined at Aguideep on the 17th.

The first defensive movement of Meer Casim was to send three of his generals, with their respective troops, to post themselves, for the protection of Moorschedabad, between that city and the English army. That army encountered them on the 19th, and gave them a total defeat. They retreated from the battle towards Geriah, where they received command to post themselves, and where they were reinforced by the principal part of Meer Casim's army, among the rest by the German Sumroo,¹ who commanded the Sepoys, or the troops disciplined in the European manner, in the service of that Nabob. On

¹ This adventurer came to India as a sergeant in the French army.

BOOK IV the 23d, the English army advanced to Chuna Cullee, and
 CHAP V on the 24th in the morning stormed the lines at Mootejil,
 which gave them possession of Moonshedabad. On the 2d
 1763. of August they reached the plain of Gorah, near Sootee,
 where the enemy waited and gave them battle. It was
 the severest conflict which the English had yet sustained
 with an Indian army. Meer Casim had been very ambi-
 tious to introduce the European order among his troops
 and he was now defended by a body of men better ap-
 pointed and better disciplined than those which any native
 commander had ever brought into the field. The battle
 lasted four hours, during which the enemy once broke a
 part of the English line, took possession of two guns, and
 attacked the Eighty-fourth regiment in front and rear.
 The steadiness, however of the English exhausted the im-
 petuousness of their assailants, and in the end bestowed upon
 them a complete and brilliant victory. The enemy aban-
 doned all their cannon, with 150 boats laden with provi-
 sions, and fled to a strong post on a small stream, called
 the Oodwa, where Meer Casim had formed a very strong
 entrenchment. On every reverse of fortune, the fears and
 the rage of that unhappy man appear to have inflamed
 him to a renewed act of cruelty. Rammurain, who
 hitherto had been retained a prisoner with several chiefs
 and persons of distinction, was, upon the present disaster
 ordered for execution. It was at this time only that Meer
 Casim, among whose qualities contempt of personal dan-
 ger had no share, having first conveyed his family and
 treasures to the strong hold of Rotas, left Mongheer. He
 marched towards Oodwa, but halting at a distance, con-
 tented himself with forwarding some bodies of troops. The
 English approached the entrenchment on the 11th. It
 occupied the whole of a narrow space which extended be-
 tween the river and the foot of the hills. The ditch, which
 was deep, was fifty or sixty feet broad, and full of water.
 The ground in front was swampy and admitted no
 approach, except for a space of about 100 yards on the
 bank of the river. At this place the English, harassed
 daily by numerous bodies of cavalry both in front and
 rear, were detained for nearly a month. On the 5th of
 September while a feigned attack at the bank of the river
 engaged the attention of the enemy a grand effort was

BOOK IV Meer Casim was received by them with all the distinction
CHAP V due to the greatest viceroy of the Mogul empire. As the

 enterprise against the Bundelas threatened to retard the
 assistance which he was impatient to receive against the
 English, he offered to reduce them with his own battalions,
 crossed the Jumna, took one of their fortresses, and so
 alarmed them, by his artillery and his Sepoys, dressed and
 disciplined in the European manner that they hastened
 to make their submission and Soja-ad-dowlah who, under
 pretence of assisting Meer Casim, already grasped in his
 expectation the three provinces of the East, marched with
 his allies to Benares, to make preparations for his selfish
 enterprise.

In the mean time the English, who were ignorant of his
 designs, and not without hopes that he would either de-
 liver Meer Casim into their hands, or at least deprive him
 of his treasures and troops, directed that the army should
 be cantoned on the frontiers for the purpose of watching
 his motions. In this situation an alarming disaffection
 broke out among the troops. The importance and diffi-
 culties of the service which they had rendered in re-
 covering the provinces from Meer Casim, had raised a high
 expectation of some proportional reward. Nor had the op-
 portunity of acting upon them been neglected by the
 emissaries of the enemy. On the 11th of February the Eu-
 ropean battalion stood to their arms, and, after loading
 their pieces and fixing their bayonets, took possession of
 the artillery parks, and marched towards the Carumnaas. The
 Sepoys were also in motion but, of them, by the
 exertions of their officers, a great proportion were induced
 to return. Of the Europeans, the English, with few excep-
 tions, desisted and came back the rest, in number about
 300 of whom some were Germans, and the greater
 part were French, proceeded towards Benares. At the
 beginning of the month of March, when Major Carnac
 arrived to take the command, a mutinous disposition still
 prevailed among the troops provisions were in great scar-
 city and the preparations making for the invasion of the
 province by the Nabob of Oude were no longer a secret.
 Though urged by the Governor and Council to act upon
 the offensive, and to push the war into Soja-ad-dowlah's
 dominions, he agreed with all his officers in opinion, that

BOOK IV In the month of May Major, afterwards Sir Hector Munro, arrived from Bombay with a body of troops, partly King's and partly Company's and hastened with them to Patna, to take the command of the army. He found the troops, Europeans as well as Sepoys, extremely mutinous, deserting to the enemy threatening to carry off their officers, demanding higher pay and a large donation, promised, as they affirmed, by the Nabob. The Major resolved to subdue this spirit by the severest measures. He had hardly arrived when a whole battalion of Sepoys, with their arms and accoutrements, went off to join the enemy. He immediately detached a body of troops on whom he thought he could depend, to pursue them and bring them back. They overtook them in the night, when asleep, and made them prisoners. The Major ready to receive them with the troops under arms, ordered their officers to select fifty whom they deemed the most depraved and mischievous, and of this fifty to select again twenty four of the worst. He then ordered a field court-martial, composed of their own black officers, to be immediately held and addressed the court, impressing them with a sense of the destruction which impended over an army in which crimes like those were not effectually repressed. The prisoners were found guilty of mutiny and desertion, and sentenced to suffer death in any manner which the commander should direct. He ordered four of them to be immediately tied to the guns, and blown away; when four grenadiers presented themselves, and begged, as they had always had the post of honour that they should first be allowed to suffer. After the death of these four men, the European officers of the battalions of Sepoys who were then in the field came to inform the Major that the Sepoys would not suffer the execution of any more. He ordered the artillery officers to load the field pieces with grape; and drew up the Europeans, with the guns in their intervals. He then desired the officers to return to the head of their battalions after which he commanded the battalions to ground their arms, and assured them if a man attempted to move that he would give orders to fire. Sixteen more of the twenty four men were then blown

It appears by Munro's evidence (First Report, Committee, 1772) that such promises were made to them, and through Major Adams.

BOOK IV The very day after the battle, the Emperor sent his
CHAPTER V application to the English commander who immediately

164. wrote to the Presidency for directions and received
 authority to conclude an agreement. The Emperor com-
 plained that he had been the state prisoner of Suja-ad-
 dowla and before the answer from Calcutta arrived,
 marched along with the English, and encamped with his
 guards close to them every night. When the army arrived
 at Benares, Suja-ad-dowla sent his minister with over-
 tures of peace; promising twenty-five lacs of rupees
 to reimburse the Company for the expenses of the war
 twenty-five lacs to the army and eight lacs to the
 Commander himself. The preliminary surrender of Meer
 Casim and Sumroo was still however demanded. The
 perfidious Vizir had already violated the laws of hospita-
 lity and honour towards his wretched guest. A quarrel
 was picked, on account of the non-payment of the monthly
 subsidy which the Ex Nabob had promised for the troops
 employed in attempting his restoration. The unhappy
 fugitive was arrested in his tent and his treasures were
 seized. Still the Nabob dreaded the infamy of delivering
 him up but, if that would satisfy the English, he offered
 to let him escape. With regard to Sumroo, his proposal
 was to invite him to an entertainment, and have him
 despatched in presence of any English gentleman who
 might be sent to witness the scene. As this mode of
 their enemies was not agreeable to English morality the
 negotiation ceased but Meer Casim, who dreaded the
 conclusion to which it might lead, contrived to escape
 with his family and a few friends into the Rohilla coun-
 try whither he had providently before the plunder of
 his treasures, despatched a dependant with some of his
 jewels.

The negotiation with the Emperor proceeded with less
 obstruction. It was proposed, as far as mutual approba-
 tion extended, agreed and contracted that the English,
 by virtue of the imperial grant, should obtain possession
 of Gaukcepore, and the rest of the territory of Bulwant
 Sing, the Zemindar of Benares that on the other hand
 they should establish the Emperor in the possession of
 Allahabad, and the rest of the dominions of Suja-ad-
 dowla; and the Emperor engaged to reimburse them after-

wards, out of the royal revenues, for the whole of the expense which this service might oblige them to incur

BOOK IV
CHAP V

1764.

In the mean time, affairs of no trivial importance were transacting in the Council. They had been extremely urgent with Meer Jaffier to leave the army, and come down to Calcutta, before Major Carnac quitted the command. The treasury of the Company was in a most exhausted state, and every effort was to be used to make Jaffier yield it a more abundant supply. In addition to the sums for which he had contracted in the recent treaty, a promise was drawn from him to pay five lacks per month toward the expense of the war so long as it should last. But his former engagements to the Company were not yet discharged. The payments also to individuals, stipulated under the title of compensation for losses, were swelled to an oppressive amount. When this article was first inserted in the treaty, the Nabob was informed that the demand at the utmost would extend to a sum of about ten lacks. That demand, however, was soon after stated at twenty, then at thirty, afterwards at forty, and at last was fixed at fifty-three lacks of rupees. We are assured, by a Director of the Company, "That all delicacy was laid aside in the manner in which payment was obtained for this sum, of which seven-eighths was for losses sustained, or said to be sustained, in an illicit monopoly of the necessaries of life, carried on against the orders of the Company, and to the utter ruin of many thousands of the Indian merchants, that of the whole one half was soon extorted from him, though part of the payments to the Company was still undischarged, and though the Company was sinking under the burden of war, and obliged to borrow great sums of money of their servants at eight per cent interest, and even with that assistance unable to carry on the war and their investment, but obliged to send their ships half loaded to Europe"¹. By the revenues of the three ceded districts, added to the monthly payment for the war, "the Company," we are informed by Clive, "became possessed of one half of the Nabob's revenues. He was allowed," says that great informant, "to collect the other half for himself, but in fact he was no more than a banker for the Company's servants, who could draw

¹ Scrafton's Observations on Vansittart's Narrative, p 48, 49

BOOK IV with the Court of Directors, on the subject of his return to
 CHAR V Bengal, Clive expressed himself in the following manner
 1765. "The trading in salt, betel-nut, and tobacco, having been
 one cause of the present disputes, I hope these articles
 will be restored to the Nabob, and your servants abso-
 lutely forbidden to trade in them. This will be striking at
 the root of the evil." At a general meeting, however, of
 proprietors, held on the 18th of May 1764, it was urged
 by several active members, and urged to the conviction of
 the majority that the servants of the Company in India
 ought not to be deprived of such precious advantages
 which enabled them to revisit their native countries with
 such independent fortunes as they were entitled to expect.
 The Court therefore ~~resolved~~^{RECOMMENDED} That it be recommended
 to the Court of Directors to reconsider the orders sent to
 Bengal relative to the trade of the Company's servants in
 salt, betel nut, and tobacco, and to regulate this important
 point, either by restrictions framed at home, or by refer-
 ring it to the Governor and Council of Fort William. In
 consequence of this recommendation, the Court of Directors
 by letter dated 1st of June, 1764, and sent by the same
 ship which carried out Lord Clive, instruct the Governor
 and Council, after, "consulting the Nabob, to form a
 proper and equitable plan for carrying on the inland
 trade.

The presents which, since their acquiring an ascendancy
 in the government, their servants had been in the habit of

purchase their investment by ready money only we require full explanation
 how this can affect them, or how it ever could have been practised in the per-
 cesse of their investment, (which the latter part of Mr Johnstone's minute,
 entered on Consultation the 21st July 1764, indicates); for it would almost
 justify suspicion, that the goods of our servants have been put off to the
 servants, in part payment of the Company's investment.

Letter to Directors, dated 27th April, 1764. Fourth Report, App. No. 2.

In quoting this resolution, some important considerations have been made; as
 no reference is given, it is not possible to say with where they originate. The
 entire resolution runs, "that it be recommended to the Court of Directors to
 reconsider the orders sent to Bengal relative to the Trade of the Company's
 servants in the articles of Salt, Betal, and Tobacco, and that they do give such
 directions for regulating the same, *genuinely to the interests of the Company* and the Nabob, as to them may appear prudent, either by settling here at
 home the restrictions under which this trade ought to be carried on, or by
 referring it to the Governor and Council of Fort William, to regulate this im-
 portant point in such manner as may prevent all future disputes between
 the Nabob and the Company. The principal object of the resolution, there-
 fore, was not the advantage of the Company's servants, although it is possible
 that it had in prospect the arrangement afterwards adopted by Clive in Ben-
 gal. MSS. Records.—W

receiving, sometimes to a very large amount, from the BOOK IV
Nabobs and other chiefs of the country, were another CHAP V
subject which now engaged the serious attention of the —————
Company. The practice which prevails in all rude govern- 1765.
ments of accompanying any application to a man in power
with a gratification to some of his ruling passions, most
frequently to the steadiest of all his passions, his avarice
or rapacity, has always remarkably distinguished the go-
vernments in the East, and hardly any to so extraordinary
a degree as the governments of the very rude people of
India. When the English suddenly acquired their extra-
ordinary power in Bengal, the current of presents, so well
accustomed to take its course in the channel drawn by
hope and fear, flowed very naturally, and very copiously,
into the lap of the strangers. A person in India, who had
favours to ask, or evil to deprecate, could not easily be-
lieve, till acceptance of his present, that the great man to
whom he addressed himself was not his foe. Besides the
sums, which we may suppose it to have been in the power
of the receivers to conceal, and of the amount of which it
is not easy to form a conjecture, the following were de-
tected and disclosed by the Committee of the House of
Commons, in 1773.

*"Account of such Sums as have been proved or acknowledged
before the Committee to have been distributed by the Princes
and other Natives of Bengal, from the Year 1757 to the
Year 1766, both inclusive, distinguishing the principal
Times of the said Distributions, and specifying the Sums
received by each Person respectively"*

Revolution in favour of Meer Jaffier in 1757

Mr Drake (Governor)	Rupees	280,000	£31,500
Colonel Clive as second in the			
Select Committee .	280,000		
Ditto as Commander in Chief	200,000		
Ditto as a private donation	1600,000 ¹		
		2,080,000	234,000

¹ It appears, by the Extract in the Appendix, No 102, from the evidence given on the trial of Ram Churn before the Governor and Council in 1761, by Roy Dulip, who had the principal management in the distribution of the treasures of the deceased Nabob Surajah Dowla, upon the accession of Jaffier Ally Cawn—that Roy Dulip then received, as a present from Colonel Clive, one lack, 25,000 rupees, being five per cent. on 25 lacks. It does not appear that this evidence was taken on oath."

BOOK IV the contest, they had ever elevated their hopes. To see
CHAP VI. the Carnatic under the Government of a chief, who should

 1763. have obligations to them for his elevation, and from whose
 gratitude they might expect privileges and favour was the
 alluring prospect which had carried them into action. They not only now beheld the man, whose interest they
 had espoused, in possession of the government of the coun-
 try but they beheld him dependent upon themselves, and
 the whole kingdom of the Carnatic subject to their abso-
 lute will.

It was the grand object of deliberation, and the grand practical difficulty to settle in what proportion the powers and advantages should be divided between the nominal sovereign and the real one. Clear complete, well-defined and unambiguous regulations, are naturally employed for the prevention of discordance, when the parties have wisdom, and are free from clandestine views. On the present occasion, according to the slovenly mode in which the business of government is usually transacted, few things were regulated by professed agreement the final distribution was left to come out among the practical, that is, the fortuitous results of government and of the two parties each inwardly resolved to appropriate as great a share of the good things as power and cunning would allow.

The English were not disposed to forget that upon them the whole burden of the war had devolved that they alone had conquered and gained the country that the assistance of Mohammed Ali had been of little or rather of no importance and that even now he possessed not resources and talents sufficient to hold the government in his hands, unless they continued to support him.

On the other hand, Mohammed Ali looked upon himself as invested with all the dignity and power of Nabob; and the absolute ruler of the country. During the whole progress of the dispute, the English had represented themselves as contending only for him; had proclaimed that his rights were indisputable and that their zeal for justice was the great motive which had engaged them so

It is scarcely just, however, to expect complete regulations affecting
 varied circumstances and novel relations; to legislate before experience,
 is to invert the order of things, and except in some lucky hits, to ensure
 failure.—W

deeply in the war. The Nabob, therefore, hesitated not to consider himself the master, though a master owing great obligations to a servant who had meritoriously exerted himself in his cause.

1768

The seeds of dissatisfaction between the rulers of the Carnatic, abundantly sown in a fruitful soil, were multiplied by the penury of the country. The avidity, which made the English so long believe that every part of India abounded with riches, had filled them with hopes of a great stream of wealth, from the resources of the Carnatic. And although they had already experienced how little was to be drawn, and with how great difficulty, from the districts which had come into their power, though they were also aware how the country had been desolated by the ravages of war, they still expected it to yield a large supply to their treasury, and accused and complained of the Nabob when their expectations were not fulfilled.

The Nabob, who was the weakest party, and as such had the greatest occasion for the protection of well-defined regulations, had, before the surrender of the French in Pondicherry, presented a draught of the conditions to which it appeared to him expedient that the two parties should bind themselves. He offered to pay to the Company, in liquidation of the sums for which in the course of the war he had become responsible, twenty-eight lacs of rupees annually till the debts should be discharged, and three lacs of rupees annually to defray the expense of the garrison at Trichinopoly. Should Pondicherry be reduced, and the Company afford him an adequate force to extract from the renters and other tributaries of the country, the contributions which they owed, he would discharge his debt to the Company in one year; should any of the districts between Nellore and Tinivelly, be taken or plundered by an enemy, a proportional deduction must take place, from the twenty-eight lacs which were assigned to the Company. On the other side, the Nabob desired, that the Company would not countenance the disobedience of the local governors and administrators, that the English officers in the forts or garrisons should not interfere in the affairs of the country, or the disputes of the inhabitants, that the Nabob's flag, instead of the Com-

BOOK IV
CHAP VI.
1 63. situation. He sent back the agreement unsigned, with strong marks of his displeasure; and told the Nabob by letter that it ill became the situation in which he stood, to make conditions with the Company since "they" said he, do not take any thing from you but they are the givers, and you are a receiver"

It was not till the summer of 1763, that the Nabob and Presidency were enabled to turn their attention to Madura and Tinivelly. Though Mohammed Issoof had been vigorously employed, from the raising of the siege of Madras, till the fall of Pondicherry in reducing the refractory Polygars and other local commanders, obedience and tranquillity were by no means established. And when that active and useful partisan proposed to take the country as renter, and to become responsible, though for a small revenue, from a region which hitherto had cost much and yielded nothing, the offer was not unwillingly embraced. Mohammed Issoof, like other renters of India, had no doubt an inclination to withhold if possible the sum which he engaged to pay out of the taxes which he was empowered to collect and, like other Governors, contemplated, it is probable, from the very beginning, the chance of independence. It cannot, however be denied, that the enemies with whom he had as yet been obliged to struggle, and who had heretofore rendered the country not only unproductive, but burdensome, left him no revenue to pay. It appears, accordingly that none had ever been received. For this failure, the Nabob and the Company now proceeded to inflict chastisement, and in the month of August, 1763, a combined army of natives and English marched to Madura. Mohammed Issoof endeavoured by negotiation, and the influence of those among the English whom he had rendered his friends, to ward off the blow. But when he found these efforts unavailing, he resolved to give himself the chance of a struggle in his own defence. He was not a man of whom the subjugation was to be expected at an easy price. He baffled all the efforts of the Nabob and the Company till the month of October 1764 when he had already forced them to expend a million sterling, and no ordinary quantity of English blood and without a deed of treachery which placed his person in their hands,

Mr Pigot's Letter to the Nabob August 13, 1763.

it is uncertain how far he might have prolonged his resistance. Among a body of French troops whom he had received from the Raja of Tanjore, was a person of the name of Marchand, by whom he was seized and delivered to his enemies

1764

The occasions on which the interests of the Nabob and of the Raja of Tanjore were liable to clash or to interfere, became, through their jealousy and mutual hatred, a perpetual source of contention. The treaty which had been formed under the coercive authority of the English, had defined the terms of their pecuniary relation with the usual want of foresight, every thing else was left vague and disputable. The river Cavery, about six miles to the north-west of Trichinopoly, is divided into two streams, of which the northern takes the name of Coleroon, and, by a course not far from direct, joins the sea at Devi-Cotah. The southern branch, which retains the name of Cavery, passes through the flat alluvial territory of Tanjore, and dividing itself into a great number of smaller streams, overflows, and fructifies the country. But it so happens that the two branches of this great river, after flowing at some distance from one another, for a space of about twenty miles, again approach, forming what is called the island of Seringham, and are only prevented by a narrow neck of land, which requires continual repairs, from reuniting their streams, and falling down the channel of the Coleroon to the ocean. The kingdom of Tanjore was thus in the highest degree interested in the preservation of the mound of the Cavery, upon the waters of which its vegetative powers so greatly depended, and it must have anciently been a powerful instrument of coercion in the hands of the neighbouring kingdom of Trichinopoly, within the territories of which it appears to have been always included.

The Nabob, as sovereign of Trichinopoly, now assumed authority over the mound of the Cavery, and the dispute between him and the Raja grew to importance. The Raja endeavoured to make the reparation of the mound the condition of paying the money which he owed by the treaty, and the President, after writing several letters to the Nabob, appointed a deputy to inquire into the subject and to make his reports. The rights in question were

BOOK IV actually two. The first was the right of sovereignty in
 CHAP VII. the mound the second was the right of having the mound
 preserved and repaired. The first, as no one disputed,
 1765 belonged to the Nabob. The second, if prescription and
 equity constituted any title, as undeniably belonged to the
 Raja. Ignorantly and awkwardly and not without English
 co-operation, they blended them together in one question
 and the dispute became interminable. Who had the right
 of repairing the mound, was the subject about which they
 contended the Nabob claiming it, as inherent in the
 sovereignty and the Raja as inherent in the title which
 he possessed to the waters of the Cavery. Unhappily in
 the right which, as sovereign, the Nabob claimed, of per-
 mitting no one but himself to repair the mound, he
 tacitly included the right of omitting all repairs whenever
 he pleased. The Raja, who dreaded the consequences,
 solicited an interview and by making ample submission
 and protestations, effected a temporary compromise. It
 was not long, however before he had again occasion to
 complain and wrote the most pressing letters to Madras,
 beseeching the Presidency to lay their commands upon
 the Nabob for the repair of the mound. The Nabob
 hardly disguised his intention of allowing it to be washed
 away alleging the wishes of his own people, who, on
 account of the overflowing of the low grounds to the
 eastward of Trichinopoly desired the waters of the Cavery
 to be turned into the channel of the Coleroon. The English
 at last interfered, with a determination to prevail and
 the Nabob, but not before the month of January 1765,
 and with great reluctance, gave his consent, that the
 mound of the Cavery should be repaired by the King of
 Tanjore.

CHAPTER VII.

*Second Administration of Clive.—Company's Orders re-
 respecting the Private Trade disregarded.—Arrangements
 with the Viceroy—With the Emperor—Acquisition of the
 Deccan.—Private Trade created a Monopoly for the*

Benefit of the superior Servants—Reduction of the Military Allowances—Its effects—Clive resigns, and Verelst succeeds—Proceedings in England relative to the Rate of Dividend on Company's Stock—Financial Difficulties—Verelst resigns, and Cartier succeeds

BOOK IV
CHAP VII
1765

LORD CLIVE, together with Mr Sumner and Mr Sykes, who had accompanied him from England, and were two of the persons empowered to form the Select Committee, arrived at Calcutta, on the 3d of May, 1765. The two other persons of whom that extraordinary machine of government was to be composed, were absent, General Carnac, beyond the confines of the province of Bahar, with the army, and Mr Verelst, at the distant settlement of Chittagong. For as much as the disturbances, which guided the resolves of the Company, when they decreed that such a new organ of government should exist, were now removed, and for as much as the Select Committee were empowered to exercise their extraordinary powers for so long a time only as those disturbances should remain, it was a question, whether they were entitled to form themselves into a governing body, but a question of which they speedily disposed¹. On the 7th of May, exactly four days after their arrival, Lord Clive, and the two gentlemen who accompanied him, assembled and without waiting for communication with the rest of the destined members declared the Select Committee formed,² assumed the whole powers of government civil and military, and administered to themselves and their secretaries an oath of secrecy.

The great corruption which they represented as prevailing in the government, and tainting to a prodigious degree the conduct of the Company's servants, was the foundation on which they placed the necessity for the establishment of the Committee. The picture which they drew of these corruptions exhibited, it is true, the most

¹ "Upon my arrival in Bengal," said Clive (in his speech in the House of Commons, ut supra p 3), "I found the powers given were so loosely and jesuitically worded that they were immediately contested by the Council. I was determined, however, to put the most extensive construction upon them, because I was determined to do my duty to my country."

² The rest were "two," and to one of these at least, General Carnac, Lord Clive wrote the moment of his arrival. There was no occasion to wait for his presence or that of Verelst. Life of Clive, ii 318.—W

BOOK IV
CHAR VII.

1765.

hideous and the most disgusting features. But the impartial judge will probably find, that the interest of the Committee to make out the appearance of a strong necessity for investing themselves with extraordinary powers, after the original cause for them had ceased to exist, had some influence on their delineations. In the letter addressed to the Committee, with which Lord Clive opened their proceedings, on the 7th of May A very few days, he says, "are elapsed since our arrival; and yet, if we consider what has already come to our knowledge, we cannot hesitate a moment upon the necessity of assuming the power that is in us of conducting, as a Select Committee, the affairs both civil and military of this settlement. What do we hear of, what do we see, but anarchy confusion, and, what is worse, an almost general corruption. Happy I am sure, you would have been, as well as myself, had the late conduct of affairs been so irreproachable as to have permitted them still to continue in the hands of the Governor and Council." Yet one would imagine that four days afforded not a very ample space for collecting a satisfactory body of evidence on so extensive a field, especially if we must believe the noble declarer that the determination to which it led was a disagreeable one.

"Three paths," observed his Lordship, when afterwards defending himself, "were before me. 1. One was strewed with abundance of fair advantages. I might have put my self at the head of the government as I found it. I might have encouraged the resolution which the gentlemen had taken not to execute the new covenants which prohibited the receipt of presents and, although I had executed the covenants myself, I might have contrived to return to England with an immense fortune, famously added to the one before honourably obtained. 2. Finding my powers disputed, I might in despair have given up the commonwealth, and have left Bengal without making an effort to save it. Such a conduct would have been deemed the effect of folly and cowardice. 3. The third path was intricate. Dangers and difficulties were on every side. But I resolved to pursue it. In short, I was determined

Most of the Evidence was supplied in the minutes and proceedings of the Committee; much was furnished by the several of the parties themselves. Life, p. 222.—W

to do my duty to the public, although I should incur the BOOK IV odium of the whole settlement The welfare of the Company required a vigorous exertion, and I took the resolution ————— CHAP VII. of cleansing the Augean Stable”¹

1765

Another circumstance deserves to be mentioned, of which Lord Clive takes no notice in his speech, though on other occasions it is not forgotten, that without the formation of the Select Committee, he would, as Governor, have enjoyed only a shadow, or at best a small fragment of power In his letter to the Directors, dated the 20th of February, in which he describes the transactions of the first five months of his new administration, he says, “The gentlemen in Council of late years at Bengal, seem to have been actuated, in every consultation, by a very obstinate and mischievous spirit The office of Governor has been in a manner hunted down, stripped of its dignity, and then divided into sixteen shares,—the number of persons of whom the board consisted. “Two paths,” he observes, in nearly the same language as was afterwards used in his speech, “were evidently open to me the one smooth, and strewed with abundance of rich advantages that might easily be picked up, the other untrodden, and every step opposed with obstacles I might have taken charge of the government upon the same footing on which I found it, that is, I might have enjoyed the name of Governor, and have suffered the honour, importance, and dignity of the post to continue in their state of annihilation I might have contented myself as others had before me, with being a cipher, or, what is little better, the first among sixteen equals and I might have allowed this passive conduct to be attended with the usual douceur of sharing largely with the rest of the gentlemen in all donations, perquisites, &c, arising from the absolute government and disposal of all places in the revenues of this opulent kingdom, by which means I might soon have acquired an immense addition to my fortune, notwithstanding the obligations in the new covenants, for the man who can so easily get over the bar of conscience as to receive presents after the execution of them, will not scruple to make use of any evasions that may protect him from the consequences The settlement, in general, would thus have been my friends, and only the

¹ Speech, ut supra, p 4

BOOK IV natives of the country my enemies." It deserves to be
 CHAP VII remarked, as twice declared by this celebrated Governor
 1755. that the covenants against the receipt of presents afforded
 no effectual security and might be violated, by the connivance and participation of the presiding individuals, to
 any amount. It follows, as a pretty necessary consequence,
 that independent of that connivance they might in many
 instances be violated to a considerable amount.

The language in which Clive describes the corruption of the Company's government and the conduct of their servants, at this era, ought to be received with caution and, doubtless, with considerable deductions; though it is an historical document, or rather a matter of fact, singularly curious and important. "Upon my arrival, he tells the Directors, I am sorry to say I found your affairs in a condition so nearly desperate, as would have alarmed any set of men, whose sense of honour and duty to their employers had not been estranged by the too-eager pursuit of their own immediate advantages. The sudden, and among many the unwarrantable acquisition of riches, had introduced luxury in every shape, and in its most pernicious excess. These two enormous evils went hand in hand together through the whole presidency infecting almost every member of each department. Every inferior seemed to have grasped at wealth, that he might be enabled to assume that spirit of profusion, which was now the only distinction between him and his superior. Thus all distinction ceased and every rank became, in a manner upon an equality. Nor was this the end of the mischief for a contest of such a nature among our servants necessarily destroyed all proportion between their wants and the honest means of satisfying them. In a country where money is plenty where fear is the principle of government, and where your arms are ever victorious, it is no wonder that the lust of riches should readily embrace the professed means of its gratification, or that the instruments of your power should avail themselves of their authority."

This conclusion is scarcely justified by the premises. Clive, in the first instance, intimates that he might have done what had been already done by the Committee, delay the execution of the covenants until his own fortune had been made, and by the second case he asserts that an individual who violated the covenants would be ready to urge any plea whatever in mitigation of the consequences. He gives no reason to infer that in either case breach of the covenants could be attempted with impunity.—W

and proceed even to extortion in those cases where simple corruption could not keep pace with their rapacity Examples of this sort, set by superiors, could not fail of being followed in a proportionable degree by inferiors The evil was contagious, and spread among the civil and military, down to the writer, the ensign, and the free merchant"¹ The language of the Directors held pace with that of the Governor In their answer to the letter from which this extract is taken, they say, "We have the strongest sense of the deplorable state to which our affairs were on the point of being reduced, from the corruption and rapacity of our servants, and the universal depravity of manners throughout the settlement The general relaxation of all discipline and obedience, both military and civil, was hastily tending to a dissolution of all government Our letter to the Select Committee expresses our sentiments of what has been obtained by way of donation, and to that we must add, that we think the vast fortunes acquired in the inland trade have been obtained by a series of the most tyrannic and oppressive conduct that ever was known in any age or country"²

The letters from the Court of Directors, commanding the immediate and total abandonment of the inland trade, and the execution of the new covenants against the receipt of presents, had arrived on the 24th of January, 1765, previous to the formation of the treaty with Nujum-ad-dowla Yet so far was the inland trade from being abandoned, that the unlimited exercise of it, free from all duties except two and a half per cent upon the article of salt, and along with that unlimited exercise, the prohibition, or what amounted

¹ Letter, dated Calcutta, 30th September, 1765, from Lord Clive to the Court of Directors, Third Report of Committee, 1772, Appendix, No 73 In the letter of the same date from the Select Committee, which was merely another letter from Clive, by whose nod the other Members of the Committee were governed, they express themselves bound "to lay open to the view of the Directors a series of transactions too notoriously known to be suppressed, and too affecting to their interest, to the national character, and to the existence of the Company in Bengal, to escape unnoticed and uncensured,— transactions which seem to demonstrate that every spring of this government was smeared with corruption, that principles of rapacity and oppression universally prevailed, and that every spark of sentiment and public spirit was lost and extinguished in the unbounded lust of unmerited wealth "

Ib App No 86 —M

That many of their charges were not ill founded, is manifest from the Minutes of Council quoted in Vansittart's Narrative, and from Johnstone's vindication of himself in his Letter to the Proprietors London, 1766 —W

² Report, ut supra, Appendix, No 74

BOOK IV to the prohibition, of all other traders, the exaction of op-
 CHAR VII. ~~—~~ to preserve duties, from which the English were exempt, had
 been inserted, as leading articles, in the treaty. Again, as
 176. to what regarded the covenants, not only had presents,
 upon the accession of Nujum-ad-dowla been received, with
 unabated alacrity in defiance of them but they remained
 unexecuted to that very hour. The Committee of the
 House of Commons could not discover from the records
 that the Governor had so much as brought them under the
 consultation of the Council Board¹ and it is certain that
 no notice whatsoever had been communicated to the other
 servants of the Company that any such engagements were
 required.

The execution of the covenants, as a very easy and simple
 transaction, was one of the earliest of the measures of the
 Committee. They were signed, first by the Members of
 the Council, and the servants on the spot and afterwards
 transmitted to the armies and factories, where they were
 immediately executed by everybody with one remarkable
 exception. General Carnac, when they arrived, distributed
 them to his officers, among whom the signature met with
 no evasion. But General Carnac himself, on the pretence
 that they were dated several months previous to the time
 at which intimation of them was conveyed to him, forbore
 privately to execute his own. A few weeks afterwards,
 upon his return to Calcutta, he signed it, indeed, without
 any scruple but, in the interval, he had received a present
 of two lacs of rupees from the reduced and impoverished
 Emperor.

¹ In letter of Clive to General Carnac, of the 6th May he says the Council
 had left to the Committee the getting the covenants signed, which they say
 is of such consequence, that they cannot think of settling anything final about
 them until Lord Clive's arrival. Lord of Clive, Johnstone, one of the
 Council, and an active agent in the whole business of the presents, gives
 rather different account. "It is true," he says, "the covenants had arrived
 before the death of Meer Jaffer, who was not at that time thought to be in
 any danger of dying; I was not at the Council when they arrived, nor at any
 time after till I was called down to assist their deliberation upon the events
 of the Nabob's death. The covenants never were shewn to me, and I cer-
 tainly could not be bound by covenants which I not only did not sign, but
 never was even required to sign. I have heard from the gentlemen of the
 Council, that their reason for not signing the covenants was, that the regulation
 appeared to them so new and extraordinary and seemed liable to so
 many objections, that they did propose to send home remonstrances against
 it, setting forth the reasons for judging the regulation unexpedient and in-
 proper." Johnstone's Letter to the Proprietors, 62.—W.

"This transaction is not accurately stated. General Carnac's objection to
 sign the covenant was perfectly reasonable. As it would have bound him to

The Nabob, Nujum-ad-dowla, hastened to Calcutta, upon BOOK IV
 the arrival of Clive, and being exceedingly displeased with CHAP VII
 restraints imposed upon him, presented a letter of complaints Mohammed Reza Khan, whose appointment to office of Naib Subah was the most offensive to the Nabob of all the hard conditions to which he had been compelled to submit, had given presents on account of his elevation to the amount of nearly twenty lacks of rupees There was nothing, in this, unusual or surprising , but the Nabob, who was eager to obtain the ground of an accusation against a man whose person and office were alike odious to him, complained of it as a dilapidation of his treasury The servants of the Company, among whom the principal part of the money was distributed, were those who had the most strongly contested the authority of Clive's Committee , and they seem to have excited, by that opposition, a very warm resentment The accusation was treated as a matter of great and serious importance Some of the native officers engaged in the negotiation of the presents, though required only for the purpose of evidence, were put under arrest A formal investigation was instituted It was alleged that threats had been used to extort the gifts And the Committee pronounced certain facts to be proved, but in their great forbearance reserved the decision to the Court of Directors The servants, whose conduct was arraigned, solemnly denied the charge of using terror or force, and it is true that their declaration was opposed by only the testimony of a few natives, whose veracity is always questionable when they have the smallest interest to depart from the truth ¹ who in the

the observance of a law of which he did not know the existence, and which he would have violated unwittingly, having between the date of the covenant and its reaching him, avowedly received a present of 70 000 rupees from the Bulwant Sinh There was no intention of evading its prospective operation, as the interval was short before he did sign it, and the General declared in his evidence before the Committee of the House, that from the moment he was publicly apprised of the Company's pleasure on the subject, he considered himself equally bound by the covenant, whether he signed it or not With regard to the two lacks of rupees, said to have been received by him from the King, after he knew of the covenants, the charge is untrue General Carnac declined accepting it without the permission of the Governor and Council, to whom, therefore, the King wrote to request that their permission might be granted The Council referred it to the Court of Directors, and if finally received, therefore, it was with their approbation Appen 3rd Report, 1773, p 390 —W

¹ There is little reason to question the veracity of such men as Mohammed Reza, Jaggat Set, and other natives of respectability, who gave evidence in

BOOK IV present case were not examined upon oath ; were deeply interested in finding an apology for their own conduct, and had an exquisite feeling of the sentiments which prevailed towards the persons whom they accused in the breasts of those who now wielded the sceptre. There seems not, in reality to have been any difference in the applications for presents on this and on former occasions, except perhaps in some little ceremoniousness of manner. A significant expression escapes from Verelst, who was an actor in the scene. "Mohammed Raza Khan," he says, affirms that these sums were not voluntarily given. This the English gentlemen deny. Perhaps the reader, who considers the increased power of the English, may regard this as a *verbal disputa*."

On the 25th of June Lord Clive departed from Calcutta, on a progress up the country for the purpose of forming a new arrangement with the Nabob for the government of the provinces, and of concluding a treaty of peace with Soja-ad-dowla the Vizir.

The first negotiation was of easy management. Whatever the Committee were pleased to command, Nujum-ad-dowla was constrained to obey. The whole of the power reserved to the Nabob, and lodged with the Naib Subah, was too great, they said, to be deposited in a single hand. They resolved, therefore, to associate the Raja Dookoob Ram, and Juggut Seet, the Hindu banker with Mohammed Raza Khan, in the superintendence of the Nabob's affairs. To preserve concord among these colleagues, it was determined to employ the vigilant control of a servant of the Company resident upon the spot. The Nabob was also now required to resign the whole of the revenues, and to make over the management of the Subahdaree, with every advantage arising from it, to the Company by whom an annual pension of fifty lacs of rupees, subject to the

the present transaction, and who had less indecent to depart from the truth than the Europeans, who are personally interested. The same indifference is presently admitted in the significance attached to the words quoted from Verelst. The conflicting assertions were mere verbal disputa. The Europeans, it is true, did not employ force to compel the donations which they received ; but there can be no doubt that they did intitiate their expectations, and that the young Nabob, and his advisers, durst not disappoint them.—W

Verelst's View of the English Government in Bengal, p. 44. For the sums received, and the rate they bore to the sums received by the managers of the preceding revolutions, see the preceding table, p. 340.

management of then three nominees, were to be allowed BOOK IV
to himself The final arrangement of these terms was CHAP VII
notified to the Committee on the 28th of July, by a letter —————
despatched from Moorshedabad, whence, a few days before, 1765
Clive had proceeded on his journey

The army had prosecuted the advantages gained over
the Vizir, and at this time had penetrated far into the
territories of Oude The arrangement, however, which
had been concluded with the Emperor, and in conformity
with which the English were to receive the Gauzeepore
country for themselves, and to bestow the dominions of
Suja-ad-dowla on the Emperor, had been severely con-
demned by the Court of Directors They denounced it,
not only as a violation of their repeated instructions and
commands not to extend the dominions of the Company ,
but as in itself an impolitic engagement , full of burden,
but destitute of profit.¹ Lord Clive, and, what is the same
thing, Lord Clive's Committee, professed a deep conviction
of the wisdom of that policy (the limitation of domi-
nion) which the Directors prescribed,² declaring, "that
an influence maintained by force of arms was destructive
of that commercial spirit which the servants of the Com-
pany ought to promote , oppressive to the country, and
ruinous to the Company , whose military expenses had
hitherto rendered fruitless their extraordinary success, and
even the cession of rich provinces"³

After the battle of Buxar, the Vizir, who no longer con-
sidered his own dominions secure, had sent his women
and treasures to Bareily, the strong fort of a Rohilla chief ,
and, having gained as much time as possible by negotiations
with the English, endeavoured to obtain assistance from
Ghazi-ad-din Khan, from the Rohilla chiefs, and a body of
Mahrattas, who were at that time under Mulhar Row, in
the vicinity of Gualior The Mahrattas, and Ghazi-ad-
din Khan, with a handful of followers, the miserable re-

¹ See the Letters to Bengal, dated 24th Dec 1765, and 19th Feb 1766, in
the Appendix to the Third Report

² Clive, in his letter to the Directors, dated 30th Sept 1765, says, " My re-
solution was, and my hopes will always be, to confine our assistance, our con-
quest, and our possessions, to Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa to go farther is in
my opinion, a scheme so extravagantly ambitious and absurd, that no go-
venor and council in their senses can ever adopt it, unless the whole scheme
of the Company's interest be first entirely new modelled "

³ Instructions from the Select Committee to the President, dated 21st June,
1765 , and their Letter to General Carnac, dated 1st July

BOOK IV mains of his former power, had, in reality joined him.
 CHAP. VII. But the Rohillas had amused him with only deceitful promises and he had been abandoned even by Sumroo who, 1765. with a body of about 300 Europeans of various nations, and a few thousand Sepoys, was negotiating for service with the Jaats.

The English had detached two battalions of Sepoys, which took possession of Lucknow the capital of Oude, and made an attempt upon the fortress of Chunar the strength of which enabled the garrison to make a successful resistance when the preparations of Suja-ad-dowla induced Sir Robert Fletcher, on whom, till the arrival of Carnac, after the departure of Sir Hector Munro, the command of the troops had devolved, to endeavour to anticipate that Nabob by taking the important fortress of Allahabad. Nujuf Khan, as a partisan of the Emperor had joined the English with his followers from Bundelcund, and being well acquainted with the fortress, pointed out the weakest part. It was speedily breached and the garrison, too irresolute to brave a storm, immediately surrendered. Soon after this event General Carnac arrived, and took the command of the army. The situation of the enemy which rendered their designs uncertain, puzzled, for a time, the General who over-estimated their strength, and was afraid of leaving the frontiers exposed. Having received undoubted intelligence that the enemy had begun to march on the Corah road and suspecting that an attack was designed upon Sir Robert Fletcher who commanded a separate corps in the same direction he made some forced marches to effect a junction with that commander; and, having joined him, advanced with united forces towards the enemy. On the 3d of May a battle was fought in the neighbourhood of Corah or rather a skirmish, for by the absence of the Rohillas, and the weakness of Ghazi-ad-din Khan, the force of the Vizir was inconsiderable, and he was still intimidated by remembrance of Buxar. The Mahrattas, on whom he chiefly depended, were soon dispersed by the English artillery. The Vizir separated from them and they retired with precipitation towards the Jumna. Observing the English to remit the pursuit in order to watch the Vizir who made no attempt to join his allies, they ventured a second effort to enter Corah.

To stop their incursions the General resolved to drive them beyond the Jumma, crossed that river on the 22d, ^{CHAP VII} dislodged them from their post on the opposite side, and obliged them to retire to the hills

1765

The Vizir impelled, on the one side by the desperate state of his affairs, on the other by hopes of moderate treatment from the English, resolved to throw himself entirely upon their generosity, by placing his person in their hands. On the 19th of May, General Carnac received, written by the Nabob with his own hand, a letter, in which he informed that officer that he was on his way to meet him. The General received him with the highest marks of distinction, and all parties recommended a delicate and liberal treatment. The final settlement of the terms of pacification was reserved for the presence of Clive. As it was unanimously agreed, that it would cost the Company more to defend the Country of the Vizir, than it would yield in revenue, that Suja-ad-dowla was more capable of defending it than the Emperor, to whom it had been formerly promised, or than any other chief who could be set up, and that in the hands of the Vizir it might form a barrier against the Mahrattas and Afghans, it was determined to restore to him the whole of his dominions, with the exception of Allahabad and Corah, which were to be reserved to the Emperor.

When the first conference was held with the Vizir on the 2nd of August, he strongly expressed his gratitude for the extent of dominion which his conquerors were willing to restore, and readily agreed to the payment of fifty lacks of rupees demanded in compensation for the expenses of the war but, when it was proposed to him to permit the English to trade, free from duties, and erect factories in his dominions, he represented so earnestly the abuses which, under the name of trade, the Company's servants and their agents had perpetrated in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and expressed with so much vehemence his apprehension of disputes, and the impossibility they would create of long preserving the blessings of peace, that Clive agreed, in the terms of the treaty, to omit the very names of trade and factories.

The Raja Bulwant Sing, who held, as dependencies of the Subah of Oude, the Zemindarees of Banares and Gau-

BOOK IV the 8th of February should remain in force until a more
 CHAP VII. equitable and satisfactory plan could be formed and
 1766. adopted and, as it was impossible for them to frame such
 a plan at home, destitute as they were of the informations
 and lights necessary to guide them in settling such an
 important affair—the Committee were therefore ordered,
 as soon after the receipt of this letter as might be con-
 venient, to consult the Nabob as to the manner of carrying
 on the inland trade, and thereupon to form a proper and
 equitable plan for that purpose and transmit the same to
 the Directors, accompanied by such explanations, observa-
 tions, and remarks, as might enable them to give their
 sentiments and directions thereupon in a full and explicit
 manner —And in doing this, as before observed, they
 were to have a particular regard to the interest and entire
 satisfaction of the Nabob. It was agreed, in general con-
 sultation at Fort William, on the 26th of January 1765,
 to defer all proceedings on this order till the arrival of
 Lord Clive and in the mean time, in defiance of both
 letters, the course of the inland trade remained undisturbed.

One important circumstance in the letter of the 1st of June, the Directors themselves interpreted one way their servants in India chose to interpret another. The servants inferred that the letter empowered them not only to con-
 trive a plan, but also to put it in practice. It was main-
 tained on the other hand, that the letter only authorized them to devise a plan, and transmit the account of it to the Directors. The letter as usual, was vague and am-
 biguous and those who had to act upon it, at so vast a
 distance, preferred, as might have been expected, the interpretation which best suited their own interests.

It is worthy of particular remark, that Lord Clive, as he declares to the Directors themselves, framed the plan which was afterwards adopted, during his voyage to India. But, as he could not then have any lights which he had not in England, he might, unless he had determined not to be governed by the Directors, have opened to them his project before he departed and have allowed to his mas-
 ters the privilege of deciding.

It is not less worthy of remark, that Clive and the other Members of the Select Committee—Carnac ex-

cepted, who had not left the army—formed a partnership BOOK IV before the beginning of June, for buying up large quantities of salt, that all the purchases were made during the month of June, and that in nine months the parties realized a profit, including interest, of about forty-five per cent. In apology for Clive, it was stated, that he brought out with him three gentlemen from England, Mr Strachey, his secretary, Mr Maskelyne, an old friend and fellow-servant of the Company, and Mr Ingham, his surgeon, and that for the sake of making a fortune to them he engaged in that suspicious transaction. If a proceeding, however, is in its own nature shameful, there is but little saved, when the emolument is only made to go into the pocket of a connexion¹.

1765

On the 10th of August, after these purchases had for some time been completed, and after certain inquiries had been made respecting the usual prices of salt in different places, it was resolved, in a Select Committee composed of only Mr Sumner and Mr Verelst, That a monopoly should be formed of the trade in salt, betel-nut, and tobacco, to be carried on exclusively for the benefit of the superior servants of the Company. After several consultations, the following rules were adopted. That, deducting a duty to the Company, computed to produce 100,000*l* per annum, the profits should be divided among three classes of proprietors. That, in the first class, should be allowed—to the governor, five shares, to the second in council, three shares, to the general, three shares, ten gentlemen of council, each two shares, two colonels, each two shares—in all thirty-five. That, in the second class, consisting of one chaplain, fourteen senior merchants, and three lieutenant-colonels, in all eighteen persons, two-thirds of one share should be granted to each, or twelve shares to the whole. In the third class, consisting of thirteen factors, four majors, four first surgeons at the presidency, two first surgeons at the army, one secretary to the council, one sub-accountant, one Persian translator, and

¹ There was nothing "shameful" in the nature of the transaction. The wisdom of the scheme may be questioned, but it was adopted deliberately and openly, as the only practicable expedient of providing for the indisputable necessity of giving liberal pay to responsible officers, whilst depriving them of the opportunity of remunerating themselves, and whilst the only legitimate source of public recompence, the public treasury was yet unopened.—W

BOOK IV one sub-export-warehouse-keeper, in all twenty-seven persons; one-third of a share should be distributed to each, or nine shares to the whole. That a committee of four, empowered to make by-laws, borrow money and determine the amount of capital, should be appointed for the entire management of the concern that the purchases should be made by contract. That the goods should be conveyed by the agents of the association to certain fixed places, and there sold to the native merchants and retailers at established and invariable prices. That the exclusive power of making those purchases should be ensured to the association for one year. And that European agents should be allowed to conduct the business of the society in different parts of the country.

1763. In defence of this scheme, it was urged, that by the prohibition of presents, and the growing share of the export and import trade engrossed by the Company's investment, the pay of their servants was reduced to the means of a bare subsistence¹; that besides the hardship of this policy the wisdom was very defective, since it was absurd to suppose that men deprived of the means of enriching themselves by legitimate, would abstain from illegitimate means, when placed to a boundless extent in their power; that a too rapid enriching of their servants, by enabling them to hurry to England, and leaving none but inexperienced youths to conduct their affairs, was ruinous to their interests and that, by the admirable arrangements of the trade society a proper fortune was secured to those who had attained a certain station in the service, without incurring the danger of sending them home enriched at too early a period.

Upon these arguments, one reflection cannot be withheld, because the occasions for its application are exceed-

It was wholly inadequate as a means of subsistence. Johnstone, in his address of the unwillingness of the Council to sign the covenant, very fairly urges the insufficiency of the salaries of the Company's servants; the allowance of counsellor he writes, is not more than £300, of factor £400, of writer as late increased £300; but the rest of very indifferent houses in Calcutta, is £300 nearly the whole of even counsellor's salary. Letter to the Proprietors. So Cire, in his speech to the House of Commons, observes, "The salary of counsellor is £1,000 scarcely £300 per annum, and it is well known that he cannot live in that country for less than £4,000. Life, iii. 100. As long as the salaries of the civil and military services left the Company's servants to starve, it was monstrous to expect that they would not use the power they possessed of providing for their own necessities, and for something more.—W

ingly numerous, and because it appears, unhappily, to be BOOK IV.
not unfrequently made It is contrary to experience, that CHAR VII
by deriving large emoluments from an office, the person
who holds it will be less eager to grasp at any unlawful
gains which are within his reach The avidity for more is
not in general diminished by the amount of what is pos-
sessed A trifling sum will doubtless lose something of
its apparent magnitude in the eye of a man of wealth,
but the vast sums are those alone which are of much
importance , and they, we find, are as resistless a temptation
to the rich as to the poor The prevalence of the
idea that satiating the servants of the public with wealth
is a secret for rendering them honest, only proves how
little the art of government has borrowed as yet from the
science of human nature If, with immense emoluments,
a door is left open to misconduct, the misconduct is but
the more ensured , because the power of the offender
affords him a shield against both popular contempt and
legal chastisement If the servants of the Company, as
Clive and his Committee so positively assumed, had it in
their power, and in their inclination, to pillage and em-
bezzle, when their incomes were small, the mere enlarge-
ment of their incomes would add to the power, and could
not much detract from the inclination¹

At the time of these proceedings, the Select Committee
were deprived of the shelter even of an ambiguous ex-
pression , and knew that they were acting in express
defiance of the wishes and commands of their superiors
Under date the 15th of February, 1765, the Directors had
written in the following terms “ In our letters of the 8th
February, and 1st June last, we gave our sentiments and
directions very fully in respect to the inland trade of

¹ This reflection is not founded upon so careful a consideration of human nature as might have been expected from our author Although cases of insatiable cupidity may from time to time occur, yet in general a man who has in his hands the means of securing, at no very remote period, a moderate fortune for himself and his family, is removed from the temptation of accelerating that period by illicit gains He is also likely to be deterred from yielding to the temptation by the amount of loss which he hazards To him who has nothing, the consequences of exposure offer little terror, to him who has much, disgrace, and eventually diminished wealth, will be very reluctantly risked All consideration of moral principle is omitted in the text, but in the instance of insufficient means, integrity is manifestly powerfully assailed, whilst in that of competent means it is strengthened and confirmed That these views are sound is established by events, and the generally unimpeached integrity of the Company's servants in India has

BOOK IV Bengal;—we now enforce the same in the strongest manner. VII. nor and positively insist that you take no steps whatever towards renewing this trade, without our express leave for which reason you must not fail to give us the fullest information upon the subject, agreeably to our above-mentioned directions.

1765

Having thus established the Private-trade Society the Committee proceeded to introduce other regulations which the state of affairs appeared to require. It had been a common practice with members of the Council, instead of remaining at the Board for the business of the Presidency to receive nomination to the chiefship of factories, as often as additional means of accumulating money were there placed in their hands. To this practice the Committee, on very good grounds, resolved to put an end.

We are convinced, they said, "by very late experience that the most flagrant oppressions may be wantonly committed in those employments, by members of the Board, which would not be tolerated in junior servants; and that the dread and awe annexed to their station, as councillors, has too frequently screened them from complaints which would be lodged without fear or scruple against inferior servants. Yet, with this experience before them, they recommend great emoluments as a security against corruption. The Committee further remarked, that not only the business, which was thus engrossed by Members of the Board, could be as well transacted by a junior servant, at much less expense but that other inconveniences, still more pernicious, were incurred that by the absence of so many members of the board, it had been necessary to increase their numbers from twelve to sixteen that by the regular departure to the out-settlements of those Members of the Council who had the greatest influence to procure their own appointment, there was so rapid a change of councillors at the board, where only the youngest and most inexperienced remained, that the business of the Presidency was obliged to be conducted by men deficient

followed the elevation of their pay in proportion to the responsibility of their stations, and their reasonable prospects of returning with sufficiency to their native country.—W

The emoluments in this case, it is to be remembered, were in their very nature fertile sources of oppression; they were indefinite, limited by no bounds except the power and capidity of the individual.—W

in the knowledge and experience necessary for carrying BOOK IV.
it on

CHAP VII

1765

Another measure, productive of considerable irritation and disturbance, was promoted by Clive. The rapid acquisition of riches in Bengal had recently sent so many of the superior servants, along with their fortunes, to Europe, that few remained to fill up the vacancies in the Council except either men very young and inexperienced, or those whom Clive described as tainted with the corruptions which had vitiated the administration. The Committee say, "It is with the utmost regret we think it incumbent on us to declare, that in the whole list of your junior merchants, there are not more than three or four gentlemen whom we could possibly recommend to higher stations at present." They accordingly forbore to supply the vacancies which occurred in the Council, and resolved upon calling a certain number of servants at the other presidencies, to supersede those in Bengal. They paid to their employers the compliment of recommending the measure to their consideration, but waited not for their decision, for, in two months from the date of their letter, four gentlemen arrived from Madras, and soon after took their seats at the Board.¹

Among the circumstances most strongly recommended to Lord Clive by the Company, was the reduction of the military expenses, which absorbed all their revenues, and

¹ The effects of this measure are thus described by the Committee themselves "As soon as this measure became known by reports from Madras, the young gentlemen of the settlement had set themselves up for judges of the propriety of our conduct, and the degree of their own merit." It is to be observed that by "young gentlemen," here is to be understood all those, without exception, who were not of the council, that is, all those whose interests were affected by this unusual proceeding, and they were even joined by several Members of the Council. That Clive should treat it as unendurable in such persons to express an unfavourable opinion upon his conduct, or upon a treatment which they naturally regarded as highly injurious to themselves, is in the genuine strain of power, both in India and Europe. The Committee continue "They have not only set their hands to the memorial of complaint, but entered into associations unbecoming at their years, and destructive of that subordination, without which no government can stand, all visits to the President are forbidden, all invitations from him and the Members of the Committee are to be slighted; the gentlemen called down by our authority from Madras are to be treated with neglect and contempt." Even the Secretary to the Council, distinguishing himself in this association, was dismissed from his office, and suspended the service. The Committee adds, "You will be astonished to observe at the head of this list, two members of your Council who subscribe their names in testimony of their sense of the injustice done to the younger servants." Letter from the Select Committee to the Directors, dated 1st January, 1766.

BOOK IV condemn to death. Each officer executed a penalty bond
 CHAR. VII of 500L, not to accept his commission till double batta
 was restored. A subscription was raised among them to

1766. establish a fund for the indemnification of those who might suffer in the prosecution of the enterprise and to this, it was understood, that the gentlemen in the civil service, and even those at the Presidency, largely contributed.

When the army was in this situation, a body of between fifty and sixty thousand Mahrattas appeared on the frontiers of Corah, about one hundred and fifty miles from Allahabad. To watch their motions, the brigade remaining in garrison at that city was ordered to encamp at Surragepora. Early in April, Lord Clive, accompanied by General Carnac, had repaired to Moorshedabad, in order to regulate the collections of the revenue for the succeeding year to receive from Suja-ad-dowla the balance of his payments, and to hold a congress of the native chiefs or princes, who were disposed to form an alliance for mutual defence against the Mahrattas. On the 19th, was transmitted to him, from the Select Committee, a remonstrance received from the officers of the third brigade, expressed in very high language, which he directed to be answered with little respect. It was not till late in the evening of the 28th; when he received a letter from Sir Robert Fletcher the commanding officer at Mongheer that Clive had the slightest knowledge or suspicion of a conspiracy so extensive, and of which the complicated operations had been going on for several months.

At Bankipore, a considerable part of the cantonments had been burnt down and a Court Martial was held upon one of the officers, accused of having been the voluntary cause. The act proceeded from a quarrel between him and another officer who attempted to take away his commission by force and, upon exploring the reason of this extraordinary operation, the existence of the combination was disclosed. The commanding officer immediately despatched an account of the discovery to Sir Robert Fletcher at Mongheer who was by no means unacquainted with the proceedings in his own brigade, but was only now induced

That is of the Brigade stationed at Bankipore, not, as might be supposed, from the previous specification of the Brigades, that which is quartered at Allahabad, which was the second, not the third Brigade.—W

to give intimation of them to his superiors It was the BOOK IV plan of the officers to resign their commissions on the 1st CHAR VII of June, but this discovery determined them, with the exception of the brigade at Allahabad, to whom information could not be forwarded in time, to execute their purpose a month earlier

1766

Clive at first could not allow himself to believe that the combination was extensive, or that any considerable number of men, the whole of whose prospects in life were founded upon the service, would have resolution to persevere in a scheme, by which the danger of exclusion from it, not to speak of other consequences, was unavoidably incurred It was one of those scenes, however, in which he was admirably calculated to act with success Resolute and daring, fear never turned him aside from his purposes, or deprived him of the most collected exertion of his mind in the greatest emergencies To submit to the violent demands of a body of armed men, was to resign the government He had a few officers in his suite upon whom he could depend, a few more, he concluded might yet be found at Calcutta, and the factories, and some of the free merchants might accept of commissions The grand object was to preserve the common soldiers in order and obedience, till a fresh supply of officers from the other Presidencies could be obtained

He remained not long without sufficient evidence that almost all the officers of all the three brigades were involved in the combination, and that their resignations were tendered Directions were immediately sent to the commanding officers, to find, if possible, the leaders in the conspiracy, to arrest those officers whose conduct appeared the most dangerous, and detain them prisoners, above all things to secure the obedience of the Sepoys and black commanders, if the European troops should appear to be infected with the disobedience of their officers Letters were despatched to the Council at Calcutta, and the Presidency at Fort St. George, to make the greatest exertions for a supply of officers, and Clive himself hastened towards Mongheer On the road he received a letter from Colonel Smith, who commanded at Allahabad, informing him that the Mahrattas were in motion, and that Ballajee Row was at Calpee with 60,000 men

BOOK IV On the 3d of September the Select Committee proceeded
CHAP. VII. to arrange the business of the inland trade society for another year. The Company in their letter of the 19th of February 1766, already received, had declared that they considered the continuance of this trade "as an express breach and violation of their orders, and as a determined resolution to sacrifice the interests of the Company and the peace of the country to lucrative and selfish views." Pronouncing, "that every servant concerned in that trade stood guilty of a breach of his covenants, and of their orders, they added, "Whatever government may be established, or whatever unforeseen circumstances may arise, it is our resolution to prohibit, and we do absolutely forbid, this trade of salt, betel-nut, and tobacco, and of all articles that are not for export and import, according to the spirit of the phirman, which does not in the least give any latitude whatsoever for carrying on such an inland trade and moreover we shall deem every European concerned therein, directly or indirectly guilty of a breach of his covenants and direct that he be forthwith sent to England, that we may proceed against him accordingly."

Notwithstanding these clear and forcible prohibitions, the Committee proceeded to a renewal of the monopoly as if the orders of the Directors deserved not a moment's regard. Clive, in his Minute, turned them carelessly aside, observing that when the Company sent them, they could not have the least idea of that favourable change in the affairs of these provinces, whereby the interest of the Nabob, with regard to salt, is no longer immediately concerned." As a reason against lodging the government of India in hands at the distance of half the circumference of the globe, the remark would merit attention for the disobedience of servants to those who employed them, it is no justification at all because, extended as far as it is applicable, it rendered the servants of the Company independent and constituted them masters of India.

agreement with the Committee of Trade to sell at fixed rate of profit, all that was the excess upon the agreed rate, which they were, somewhat arbitrarily but not unjustly compelled to refund.—W

A discretionary power to suspend the execution of the orders of the home authorities, so as to afford them the opportunity of considering circumstances of which they may not have been apprised, is very different thing from positive disobedience, and is indispensable to the due administration of government in India. It still rests with the authorities in England to countermand or enforce the instructions they have sent out.—W

One change alone, of any importance, was introduced BOOK IV upon the regulations of the preceding year the salt, CHAP VII instead of being conveyed to the interior, was to be sold at Calcutta, and the several places of manufacture The transportation of the commodity to distant places, by the agents of the society, was attended with great trouble and expense by selling it immediately at the places of manufacture, so much was saved and by reserving the distribution to the merchants of the country, a pretended boon was granted to the natives A maximum price was fixed, and, on the 8th of September, a Committee of Trade was formed, with directions for carrying the plan into execution

1766

No sooner was this arrangement formed, than Clive brought forward a proposition for prohibiting all future Governors and Presidents from any concern whatsoever in trade On the 19th of the very same month, in a Minute presented to the Select Committee, he represented, that, "Where such immense revenues are concerned, where power and authority are so enlarged, and where the eye of justice and equity should be ever watchful, a Governor ought not to be embarrassed with private business He ought to be free from every occupation in which his judgment can possibly be biassed by his interest" He, therefore, proposed, that the Governor should receive a commission of one and one-eighth per cent upon the revenues, and in return should take a solemn and public oath, and bind himself in a penalty of 150,000*l* to derive no emolument or advantage from his situation as Governor of Bengal, beyond this commission, with the usual salary and perquisites and a covenant to this effect was formally executed by him That good reasons existed for precluding the Governor from such oblique channels of gain, both as giving him sinister interests, and engrossing his time, it is not difficult to perceive that the same reasons should not have been seen to be good, for precluding, also, the members of the Select Committee and the Council, might, though it need not, excite our surprise

On the 8th of December, letters arrived from England, dated the 17th of May, addressed both to Clive and the Committee In these documents, the Directors pronounced the inland trade society to be a violation of their repeated

BOOK IV his officers and in his name ; and all transactions with
 CHAR VII. foreign powers were covered with the mask of his autho-
 rity. For the benefit of certain false pretexts which im-

1767

posed upon nobody the government of the country as far as regarded the protection of the people, was dissolved. Neither the Nabob nor his officers dared to exert any authority against the English, of whatsoever injustice and oppression they might be guilty. The goondaahs, or Indian agents employed by the Company's servants, not only practised unbounded tyranny but, overawing the Nabob and his highest officer converted the tribunals of justice themselves into instruments of cruelty making them inflict punishment upon the very wretches whom they oppressed, and whose only crime was their not submitting with sufficient willingness to the insolent rapacity of those subordinate tyrants. While the ancient administration of the country was rendered inefficient, this suspension of the powers of government was supplied by nothing in the regulations of the English. Beyond the ancient limits of the Presidency the Company had no legal power over the natives beyond these limits, the English themselves were not amenable to the British laws and the Company had no power of coercion except by sending persons out of the country a remedy always inconvenient, and, except for very heinous offences, operating too severely upon the individual to be willingly applied. The natural consequence was, that the crimes of the English and their agents were in a great measure secured from punishment, and the unhappy natives lay prostrate at their feet. As the revenue of the government depended upon the productive operations of the people and as a people are productive only in proportion to the share of their own produce which they are permitted to enjoy this wretched administration could not fail, in time, to make itself felt in the Company's exchequer¹. Other sources were not

Governor Verelst, in his letter to the Directors, immediately before his resignation, dated 18th December 1760, says, 'W immensely broke down the barriers between us and government, and the native grew uncertain where his obedience was due. Such divided and compromised authority gave rise to oppressions and intrigues, unknown at any other period; the officers of government caught the hussarion, and, being removed from any immediate control, proceeded with still greater audacity. In the meantime, we repeatedly and persistently failed to show any public authority over the officers of government in our own names, &c.'

BOOK IV number of years and during the administrations of Mr. ^{CHAR VII.} Verelst and Mr Cartier who occupied the chair till the elevation of Mr Hastings, and were calm, unambitious men, few events of historical importance occurred. It was during a period like this, if ever that the Company ought to have replenished their exchequer and to have attained financial prosperity. During this period, on the other hand, financial difficulties were continually increasing and rose at last to a height which threatened them with immediate destruction. Doubtless, the anarchical state, in which, by the double government, the provinces were placed, contributed powerfully to impoverishment but the surplus revenue, with which the people of England were taught to delude themselves, was hindered by more permanent causes. Though no body should believe it, India, like other countries, in which the industrious arts are in their infancy and in which law is too imperfect to render property secure, has always been poor. It is only the last perfection of government which enables a government to keep its own expense from absorbing every thing which it is possible to extract from the people and the government of India, under the East India Company by a delegation of servants at the distance of half the circumference of the globe from control, was most unhappily circumstanced for economy. On a subject like this, authority is useful. With regard to the increase of the expenses, says Clive, I take the case to stand thus. Before the Company became possessed of the dewanee, their agents had other ways of making fortunes. Presents were open to them. They are now at an end. It was expedient for them to find some other channel—the channel of the civil and military charges. Every man now who is permitted to make a bill, makes a fortune."

During the year 1.87 a march of the Abdalle Shah towards Delhi, excited the attention, though not much the alarm, of the Presidency. After some contests with the Seiks, and overrunning a few of the provinces, that powerful Chief returned to his own country. An expedition was undertaken for the restoration of the Raja of Nepal, who had been dispossessed by his neighbour the

BOOK IV Early in the year 1768, arrived the Company's peremptory order for abolishing entirely the trade of their servants in salt, and other articles of interior traffic for laying it open, and confining it to the natives and for restricting their servants entirely to the maritime branches of commerce.

1768.

The commission of one and one-eighth per cent upon the dewanee revenues, which by the Select Committee had been settled upon the Governor as a compensation for relinquishing his share in the salt trade, was also commanded to cease. For as much, however as the income of their servants, if thus cut off from irregular sources of gain, was represented as not sufficiently opulent, the Company granted a commission of two and a half per cent upon the net produce of the dewanee revenues, to be divided into 100 equal shares, and distributed in the following proportions to the Governor thirty-one shares to the second in Council, four and a half; to the rest of the Select Committee, not having a chiefship, each three and a half shares to the Members of the Council not having a chiefship, each one and a half to the Commander-in-Chief, seven and a half shares to Colonels each, two and a half Lieutenant-Colonels, each, one and a half and to Majors, three fourths. An additional pay was allotted to Captains, of three shillings, Lieutenants two shillings, and Ensigns one shilling per day.

Some uneasiness still continued with respect to the designs of Suga-ad-dowla, between whom and the Emperor considerable discordance prevailed. The directors had forwarded the most positive orders for recalling the brigade from Allahabad and for confining the operations of the Company's army entirely within the limits of the Company's territory. The Council thought it necessary to disobey and in their letter went so far as to say that they must express their great astonishment at such an absolute restriction without permitting them upon the

Past experience, they say, has so impressed us with the idea of the necessity of confining our servants, and Europeans residing under our protection, within the secret limits of our export and import trade, that we look on every invasion in the inland trade as an intrusion on the several rights of the natives of the country who now more particularly claim our protection; and we esteem it as much our duty to maintain this barrier between the two commercial rights, as to defend the provinces from foreign invasion. Letter from the Directors, dated 30th November 1767.

spot to judge how far, from time and circumstances, it might be detrimental to their affairs”

BOOK IV
CHAP VII.

1768

The most important particular in the situation of the Company in Bengal was the growing scarcity of pecuniary means. In the letter from the Select Committee to the Court of Directors, dated 21st November, 1768, “You will perceive,” they say, “by the state of your treasury, a total inability to discharge many sums which you are indebted to individuals for deposits in your cash, as well as to issue any part of the considerable advances required for the service of every public department. And you will no longer deem us reprehensible, if a decrease in the amount of your future investments, and a debasement of their quality, should prove the consequence.”

By a correspondence between the Presidencies of Fort William and Fort St George, in the beginning of March, 1769, the dangerous consequences to be apprehended from the exhausted state of their treasuries, and the necessity of establishing a fund against future emergencies, were mutually explained and acknowledged. In two separate consultations, held by the President and Council at Fort William, in the months of May and August, the utility, or rather the indispensable necessity, of such a fund underwent a solemn discussion, and was pronounced to be without dispute. But as the expences of the government left no resource for the creation of it, except the diminution of the investment, or quantity of goods transmitted to the Company in England, they resolved upon that reduction, and limited to forty-five lacs the investment of the year.

Even this resource was in a very short time perceived to be insufficient. On the 23rd of October, a deficiency of 6,63,055 rupees appeared on the balance of receipts and disbursements, and the President and Council in their Minute declared, “That however the public might have been flattered, they could not flatter themselves, with any expectations from their revenue, and that the only expedient within their reach was to open their treasury doors for remittances”¹

¹ The President and Council of Fort William, in their letter (dated the 21st of March, 1769) to the President and Council of Fort St George, speak in pathetic terms of “the incontestible evidence they had transmitted to their

BOOK IV These remittances consisted chiefly of the money or
CHAR VII. fortunes of the individuals who had grown rich in the

 1768. Company's service, and who were desirous of transmitting
 their acquisitions to Europe. Such persons were eager to
 pay their money to the Company's government in India,
 upon receiving an obligation for repayment from the Com-
 pany in England in the language of commerce, for a bill
 upon the Company payable in England. The money thus
 received, in other words borrowed, was applied to the exi-
 gencies of the service and by augmenting their resources,
 was always highly agreeable to the servants in India. The
 payment, however of these loans or bills in England was
 apt to become exceedingly inconvenient to the Directors.
 The sole fund out of which the payment could be made
 was the sale of the investment, or the goods transmitted
 to them from India and China. If the quantity of these
 goods was less in value than afforded a surplus equal to
 the amount of the bills which were drawn upon them
 they remained so far deficient in the ability to pay. And
 if the goods were sent in too exorbitant a quantity the
 market was insufficient to carry them off.

An opposition of interests was thus created between
 the governing part of the servants abroad, and the Court
 of Directors and Proprietors at home. For the facility of
 their operations, and the success of their government, it
 was of great importance for the servants to preserve a full
 treasury in India, secured by a small investment, and the
 receipt of money for bills. It was the interest of the
 Directors to have an ample supply of money at home,
 which on the other hand could only be produced by a
 large investment and a moderate transmission of bills.
 The Directors, accordingly had given very explicit in-
 structions on this subject and in their letter of the 11th
 of November 1768, after acknowledging the growing de-
 ficiency of the funds in India, had said. Nevertheless,
 we cannot suffer ourselves to be drawn upon to an un-
 limited amount, the state of the Company's affairs here
 not yet admitting us to answer large drafts upon us from
 India but should the exigency of your affairs require

honourable masters of the exaggerated Right in which their new acquired ad-
 vantages had been placed, and the change of views which they expected
 them to consequence to adopt.

BOOK IV enabled Mysore to throw off its dependence upon that ancient client monarchy its distance and other local circumstances saved it from subjection to any of the Mohammedan powers. It continued, therefore, till the period of Hyder's usurpation, under a pure Hindu government, and afforded a satisfactory specimen of the political institutions of the native Hindus. The arts of government were less understood in that, than in the Mohammedan districts of India. Hardly ever have mankind been united in considerable societies under a form of polity more rude, than that which has every where been found in those parts of India which remained purely Hindu.¹ At a period considerably prior to the rise of Hyder the government of Mysore had assumed that state, which, if we may judge by its own example, and that of the Mahrattas, Hindu governments had a general tendency to assume. The Raja, or Monarch, was stripped of all power while a minister kept him a prisoner and governed absolutely in his name. At the time when the wars of the English in the Carnatic commenced, the powers of the Raja of Mysore were usurped by two brothers, named Deoraj, and Nunjeraj. It was this same Nunjeraj, whom the French were enabled to bring to their assistance at Trichinopoly and who there exhibited so many specimens of the rudeness of his people, and of his own ignorance and incapacity. And it was in the station of a subordinate officer in the service of this commander that Hyder Ali began his career.

Mohammed Beloll, the great grandfather of Hyder was a native of the Punjab, who came into the Deccan in the character of a fakir and, settling in the district of Calburga, about 110 miles in a north west direction from Hyderabad, acquired considerable property by the exercise of his religious talents. Mohammed Beloli had two sons, Mohammed Ali, and Mohammed Wullee. They left their father's house, and travelling southward, became at Sora, revenue peons, or armed men, employed, according to Indian practice, in the forced collection of the taxes. Mohammed Ali died at Colar and Mohammed Wullee, for the sake of his property expelled his widow and son, and drove them from his doors. The name of the son was

¹ See the Illustrations of the Mysore Government, in the instructive volume of Col. Wilks.

Futtuh Mohammed, the father of Hyder He obtained BOOK IV along with his mother, protection from a petty officer, CHAP VIII
called a Naik of peons, by whom he was brought up, and employed as a peon, or common foot soldier, in the party under his command. Futtuh Mohammed found means to distinguish himself, and, in the service of the Nabob of Sera, became, first a Naik of peons, and afterwards the Fojedar, or military superintendent of a district But misfortune overtook his master The Nabob was dethroned, his family plundered, and Futtuh Mohammed lost his life in their defence He left two sons, the elder Shabas, the youngest Hyder, and a widow, who had a brother, the Naik of a few peons, in the service of a Killeadar of Bangalore With this man, the mother of Hyder sought, and, together with her sons, obtained protection. When Shabas, the elder of the brothers, grew towards manhood, he was recommended by his uncle to an officer in the service of the Raja of Mysore The youth quickly rose to distinction, and obtained the command of 200 horse and 1000 peons Hyder, till the age of twenty-seven, could be confined to no serious pursuit, but spent his life between the labours of the chase, and the pleasures of voluptuous indolence and riot He joined, however, the troops of Mysore, as a volunteer at the siege of Deonhully, the castle of a Polygai, about twenty-four miles north-east from Bangalore, which, in 1749, Nunjeraj undertook to reduce On this occasion the ardour, the courage, and the mental resources of Hyder, drew upon him the attention of the general , and, at the termination of the siege, he was not only raised to the command of fifty horse, and 200 peons, or foot, but was intrusted with the charge of one of the gates of the fortress

He continued to recommend himself with so much success to Nunjeraj, that, when the efforts of the English to establish their authority in Madura and Tinivelly, in 1755, rendered precarious the possession of the fort of Dindigul, Hyder was chosen as the man on whom its defence could, with greatest security, repose It was situated on a high rock in the middle of a plain, at nearly an equal distance, of about fifty miles from Madura and Tichinopoly , and amid the confusions of the Carnatic had fallen into the hands of the Mysoreans about ten years before This ele-

1767

BOOK IV and had it not happened, by a singular train of circumstances, that he was opposed by the arms of a people, whose progress in knowledge and in the arts was far superior to his own, he, and his son, would probably have extended their sway over the greater part of India.

1767

In prosecution of the design which Basalut Jung had formed to render himself independent of Nizam Ali, he proceeded, about the month of June in 1761, to the reduction of Sera. This was a province, formerly governed by a Nabob, or deputy of the Subahder of the Deocan. It was now possessed by the Mahratta. But the shock which the Mahratta power had sustained by the disaster of Paniput, inspired Basalut Jung with the hope of making a conquest of Sera. By his approach to the territories of Hyder that vigilant chief was quickly brought near to watch his operations. Basalut Jung was, by a short experience, convinced that his resources were unequal to his enterprise and as his elder brother was imprisoned by Nizam Ali, on the 18th of July his presence at the seat of his own government was urgently required. That the expedition might not appear to have been undertaken in vain, he made an offer to Hyder of the Nabobship of Sera, though yet unconquered, for three lacks of rupees and formally invested him with the office and title, under the name of Hyder Ali Khan Behauder which he afterwards bore. The allied chiefs united their armies, and, having speedily reduced the country to the obedience of Hyder took leave of each other about the beginning of the year 1762.

Hyder continued to extend his conquests over the two Bahipooas over Gootl, the territory of the Mahratta chieftain Morari Row received the submission of the Polygars of Raudroog, Harponally and Chittledroog and early in 1763 he marched under the invitation of an imposter who pretended to be the young Raja of Bednore, to the conquest of that kingdom. The territory of Bednore includes the summit of that part of the range of western hills, which, at a height of from four to five thousand feet above the level of the sea, and for nine months of the year involved in rain and moisture, which clothe them with the most enormous trees, and the most profuse vegetation, overlook the provinces of Canara and Malabar.

¹ Col. Wilks thinks his estimate of the amount of it very low at 12,000,000/- sterling. More likely it was not a third of the sum. "The immense property," he calls it, "of the most opulent commercial town of the East, and full of rich dwellings." The sound judgment of Col. Wilks generally preserves him, much better than Oriental gentlemen in general, from the strain of Eastern hyperbole. The richest commercial town of the East, neither a sea port, nor on any great line of communication, in a situation almost inaccessible on the top of unwholesome mountains! Besides, there is little opulence in any house in India, or in any shop. The chief articles of splendour are jewels, which almost always are carried away, or hid, upon the appearance of danger.

BOOK IV They accuse the Presidency of irresolution and incapacity
CHAPTER IX. and tell them that by the feebleness with which they had

 1769. carried on the war and the pusillanimity with which they had
 made peace at the dictation of an enemy "they had
 laid a foundation for the natives of Hindustan to think
 they may insult the Company at pleasure with impunity." Yet they pretended not, that a mutual renunciation of conquests was not better than a continuation of the war or that the vain boast of driving Hyder's light cavalry from the walls of Madras would not have been dearly purchased with the ravage of the city of Madras and the surrounding country. The Presidency affirm that they "were compelled to make peace for want of money to wage war." And the only imprudent article of the treaty in which, however there was nothing of humiliation or in consistency with the train of the Company's policy was the reciprocation of military assistance because of this the evident tendency (a circumstance, however which seemed not over to be greatly deprecated,) was, to embroil them with other powers.

CHAPTER IX.

Public opinion in England.—Proceedings in the India House and in Parliament.—Plan of Supervisors.—Plan of a King's Commissioner.—Increase of pecuniary Difficulties.—Dividend raised.—Company unable to meet their Obligations.—Parliamentary Inquiry—Ministerial relief—An Act, which changes the Constitution of the Company—Tendency of the Change—Financial and Commercial State.

THE affairs of the Company excited various and conflicting passions in England, and gave rise to measures of more than ordinary importance. The act of parliament having expired which limited the amount of dividend in

Letters to the Court of Directors, 23rd March, 1770; Beau's App. p. 1418.

For these transactions, besides the printed official documents, the well-informed, but not impartial author of the History and Management of the East India Company, has been, with caution, followed, together with Robert's Life of Hyder Ali, corrected from authentic MSS. by Mr. Grant.—M.

A more authentic and accurate account is to be found in Col. Will's Historical Sketches of the South of India.—W.

1767, the Directors exclaimed against a renewal of the BOOK IV restriction, as transferring the powers of the Company to CHAP IX. parliament, subverting the privileges of their charter, and rendering insecure the property of every commercial and corporate body in the kingdom. They even presented to parliament a petition, in which these arguments were vehemently enforced, and so well by this time were they represented in that assembly, that a sufficiency of orators was not wanting, who in both Houses supported their claims. Opposite views, notwithstanding, prevailed, and an act was passed to prevent the increase of the dividend beyond ten per cent till the 1st day of February, 1769

1769

Before the expiration of this term, the Company, who were anxious to evade the question respecting the public claim to the sovereignty of the Indian territory, very assiduously negotiated with the minister a temporary arrangement. After a great deal of conference and correspondence, an act was passed, in April, 1769, to the following effect. That the territorial revenues in India should be held by the Company for five years to come, that in consideration of this benefit they should pay into the exchequer 400,000*l* every year, that, if the revenues allowed, they might increase the dividend, by augmentations not exceeding one per cent. in one year, to twelve and a half per cent., that if, on the other hand, the dividend should fall below ten per cent., the payment into the exchequer should obtain a proportional reduction, and entirely cease if the dividend should decline to six per cent., that the Company should, during each year of the term, export British merchandise, exclusive of naval and military stores, to the amount of 380,837*l*, and that when they should have paid their simple contract debts bearing interest, and reduced their bonded debt to an equality with their loans to government, they should add to these loans the surplus of their receipts at an interest of two per cent¹. This agreement between the public and the Company was made, it is obvious, upon the same supposition, that of a great surplus revenue, upon which succeeding agreements have been made, and with the same result.

In the meantime, the grievous failure in the annual trea-

¹ Act 9, Geo III c 24

BOOK IV the time when it was assigned, deprived them of all powers
 CHAP IX. of juridical coercion with regard to Europeans over the
 1772. wide extent of territory of which they now acted as the
 sovereigns. They possessed, indeed, the power of suing or
 prosecuting Englishmen in the Courts of Westminster
 but under the necessity of bringing evidence from India,
 this was a privilege more nominal than real.

One object, therefore, of the present bill was to obtain authority for sending a chief justice with some puisne judges, and an attorney-general, according to the model of the Courts of England, for the administration of justice throughout the territory of the Company.

The next object was, the regulation of the trade. The author of the motion, the Deputy Chairman of the Company represented it as a solecism in politics, and monstrous in reason, that the governors of any country should be merchants and thus have a great temptation to become the only merchants, especially in those articles which were of most extensive and necessary consumption, and on which, with the powers of government, unlimited profits might be made. It was, therefore, proposed that the Governors and Councils, and the rest of the Company's servants, should be debarred from all concern in trade. But it neither occurred to the Deputy Chairman, nor was it pressed upon his notice by any other member of the legislative body that the argument against the union of trade and government was equally conclusive, applied to the Company as applied to their servants to those who held the powers of government in the first instance, as to those who held them by delegation and at will.

It was in the debate upon this motion that Lord Clive made the celebrated speech, in which he vindicated his own conduct against the charges to which, as well from authority as from individuals, it had been severely exposed. He spared not the character either of his fellow-servants, or of the Directors. "I attribute the present situation of our affairs," he said, "to four causes— a relaxation of government in my successors; great neglect on the part of administration; notorious misconduct on the part of the Directors; and the violent and outrageous proceedings of general courts. To hear his account, no one would believe that any creature who had ever had any thing to do

with the government had ever behaved well but himself BOOK IV
 It was much easier for him, however, to prove that his CHAP IX.
 conduct was liable to no peculiar blame, than that it was —————
 entitled to extraordinary applause With great audacity,
 both military and political, fortunately adapted to the
 scene in which he acted, and with considerable skill in the
 adaptation of temporary expedients to temporary exigencies,
 he had no capacity for a comprehensive scheme, in-
 cluding any moderate anticipation of the future , and it
 was the effect of his shortsighted regulations, and of the
 unfounded and extravagant hopes he had raised, with
 which the Company were now struggling on the verge of
 ruin, and on account of which the conduct both of them
 and of their servants was exposed to far more than its due
 share of obloquy and condemnation

1772

The suspicions of the nation were now sufficiently roused to produce a general demand for investigation , and on the 13th of April a motion was made and carried in the House of Commons for a select Committee to gratify the public desire The bill which had been introduced by the Deputy Chairman was thrown out on the second reading, to afford time for the operations of the Committee, and parliament was prorogued on the 10 of June

During the recess, took place the extraordinary disclosure of the deficiency of the Company's funds, their solicitation of loans from the Bank, and their application for support to the Minister He received their proposals with coldness , and referred them to parliament That assembly was convened on the 26th of November, much earlier, as the King from the throne informed them, than had been otherwise intended, to afford them an opportunity of taking cognizance of the present condition of the East India Company The Minister had already come to the resolution of acceding to the request of the Directors , it therefore suited his purpose to affirm that how great soever the existing embarrassment, it was only temporary , and a Committee of Secrecy was appointed, as the most effectual and expeditious method for gaining that knowledge of the subject from which it was proper that the measures of parliament should originate

Among the expedients which the urgency of their affairs had dictated to the Company, a new commission of super-

BOOK IV the Judges, those struggles which threatened the existence
 CHAP. IX. of English authority

So long, on the other hand, as the Governor-general and
 1772. Council remained exempt from the control of law the
 great oppressors were safe; and, from the community of
 interests, and the necessity of mutual compliance and
 mutual concealment, between the high offenders and the
 low impunity was pretty well secured to the class.

The grand source, however of mischief to the natives, in the jurisprudential plan, was the unfortunate inattention of its authors to the general principles of law detached from its accidental and national forms. As the vulgar of every nation think their language the natural one, and all others arbitrary and artificial so, a large mass of Englishmen consider English law as the pure extract of reason, adapted to the exigencies of human nature itself and are wholly ignorant that, for the greater part, it is arbitrary technical, and ill-adapted to the general ends which it is intended to serve; that it has more of singularity and less capacity of adaptation to the state of other nations, than any scheme of law to be found in any other civilized country. The English law which in general has neither definition nor words, to guide the discretion or circumscribe the license of the Judge, presented neither rule nor analogy in cases totally altered by diversity of ideas, manners, and pre-existing rights and the violent efforts which were made to bend the rights of the natives to a conformity with the English laws, for the purpose of extending jurisdiction, and gratifying a pedantic and mechanical attachment to the arbitrary forms of the Westminster courts, produced more injustice and oppression and excited more alarm, than probably was experienced, through the whole of its duration, from the previous imperfection of law and judicature.

Mr. Burke, in the Ninth Report of the Select Committee, in 1783, says,
 The defect in the institution seemed to be this; that no rule was laid down, either in the act or the charter by which the Court was to judge. No descriptions of offenders, or species of delinquency were properly ascertained, according to the nature of the place, or to the prevalent mode of abuse. Provision was made for the administration of justice in the remotest part of Hindostan, as if it were presence in Great Britain. Your Committee have long had the constitution and conduct of this Court before them, and they have as yet been able to discover very few instances (not one that appears to them of leading importance) of relief given to the natives against the corruptions or oppressions of British subjects in power — So far as your Com-

If, towards the amelioration of the government in India, the new effort in legislation performed no more than this, it injured, rather than improved, the condition of both the Company and the natives. Against the government at home, the only objection, of any real moment, was its inefficiency as the ruling power to produce, by means of its servants a good government in India, or, what in this case was meant by good government, a large surplus of revenue or treasure to England, without oppression to the natives. The total change which was effected in the Constitution of the Company pretended to have for its End the improvement and perfection of the Company in that respect and it employed as its whole and only Means, dependence upon the Minister.

If the Minister had more knowledge of the affairs in India, more leisure to devote to their management, and more interest in them being well managed, this was an improvement. If he had less knowledge, less leisure, and, far above all, if his interest was likely to be most promoted by that system of patronage which creates dependence, and which is at irreconcileable enmity with the very principle of good government, the change was wholly the reverse. How dependence upon the Minister was to render the agents of government more faithful and economical stewards of the revenues in India, or less disposed to accumulate wealth at the expense of the prostrate natives, it is not easy to make appear in regard to responsibility, or eventual punishment, the only caution was, to act in concert with the minister, and then they were out of all comparison more assured of impunity than before.

From dependence upon the Court of Proprietors, by annual elections, to render the Directors in a great degree independent of their constituents by elections in four years, gave them greater powers, and hence motives, to pursue their own interests at the expense of the Proprietors, but that it should increase their interest in the good government of India, and hence their motives for exertion to procure it, is impossible.

mittee have been able to discover, the Court has been generally terrible to the natives, and has distracted the government of the Company, without substantially reforming any one of its abuses."

BOOK IV the Judges, those struggles which threatened the existence
 CHAP. IX. of English authority

So long, on the other hand, as the Governor-general and
 1778. Council remained exempt from the control of law the
 great oppressors were safe and, from the community of
 interests, and the necessity of mutual compliance and
 mutual concealment, between the high offenders and the
 low impunity was pretty well secured to the class

The grand source, however of mischief to the natives, in the jurisprudential plan, was the unfortunate inattention of its authors to the general principles of law detached from its accidental and national forms. As the vulgar of every nation think their language the natural one, and all others arbitrary and artificial so, a large mass of Englishmen consider English law as the pure extract of reason, adapted to the exigencies of human nature itself and are wholly ignorant that, for the greater part, it is arbitrary technical, and ill-adapted to the general ends which it is intended to serve; that it has more of singularity and less capacity of adaptation to the state of other nations, than any scheme of law to be found in any other civilized country. The English law which in general has neither definition nor words, to guide the discretion or circumscribe the license of the Judge, presented neither rule nor analogy in cases totally altered by diversity of ideas, manners, and pre-existing rights; and the violent efforts which were made to bend the rights of the natives to a conformity with the English laws, for the purpose of extending jurisdiction, and gratifying a pedantic and mechanical attachment to the arbitrary forms of the Westminster courts, produced more injustice and oppression and excited more alarm, than probably was experienced, through the whole of its duration, from the previous imperfection of law and judicature.¹

¹ Mr. Burke, in the Ninth Report of the Select Committee, in 1783, says, "The defect in the institution seemed to be thus; that no rule was laid down, either in the act or the charter by which the Court was to judge. If descriptions of offenders, or species of delinquency were properly ascertained, according to the nature of the place, or to the prevalent mode of abuse. Provision was made for the administration of justice in the remotest part of Hindostan, as if it were province in Great Britain. Your Committee have long had the constitution and conduct of this Court before them, and they have as yet been able to discover very few instances (not one that appears to them of leading importance) of relief given to the natives against the exactions or oppressions of British subjects in power—So far as your Com-

II If, towards the amelioration of *the government in India*, the new effort in legislation performed no more than this, it injured, rather than improved, the condition of both the Company and the natives Against *the government at home*, the only objection, of any real moment, was its inefficiency as the ruling power to produce, by means of its servants a good government in India, or, what in this case was meant by good government, a large surplus of revenue or treasure to England, without oppression to the natives The total change which was effected in the Constitution of the Company pretended to have for its *End* the improvement and perfection of the Company in that respect and it employed as its whole and only *Means*, dependence upon the Minister

If the Minister had more knowledge of the affairs in India, more leisure to devote to their management, and more interest in them being well managed, this was an improvement If he had less knowledge, less leisure, and, far above all, if his interest was likely to be most promoted by that system of patronage which creates dependence, and which is at irreconcileable enmity with the very principle of good government, the change was wholly the reverse How dependence upon the Minister was to render the agents of government more faithful and economical stewards of the revenues in India, or less disposed to accumulate wealth at the expense of the prostrate natives, it is not easy to make appeal in regard to responsibility, or eventual punishment, the only caution was, to act in concert with the minister, and then they were out of all comparison more assured of impunity than before

From dependence upon the Court of Proprietors, by annual elections, to render the Directors in a great degree independent of their constituents by elections in four years, gave them greater powers, and hence motives, to pursue their own interests at the expense of the Proprietors, but that it should increase their interest in the good government of India, and hence their motives for exertion to procure it, is impossible

mittee have been able to discover, the Court has been generally terrible to the natives, and has distracted the government of the Company, without substantially reforming any one of its abuses "

BOOK IV From the year 1744, the period to which in a former
CHAR. IX. passage¹ is brought down the account of the dividend

 paid annually to the Proprietors on the capital stock, that
 1773. payment continued at eight per cent. to the year 1756, in
 which it was reduced to six per cent. It continued at that
 low rate till Christmas, 1766, when it was raised by the
 General Court, repugnant to the sense of the Court of
 Directors, to five per cent. for the next half year. On the
 7th of May 1767 it was resolved in the General Court,
 that for the following half year the dividend should be six
 and a quarter per cent. But this resolution was rescinded
 by act of parliament, and the dividend limited, till further
 permission, to ten per cent. per annum. It was continued
 at ten per cent. till the year commencing at Christmas,
 1769, when, in pursuance of the new regulations, it was
 advanced to eleven per cent. The next year it rose to
 twelve per cent. The following year it was carried to its
 prescribed limits, twelve and a-half per cent. at which it
 continued for eighteen months, when the funds of the
 Company being totally exhausted, it was suddenly reduced
 to six per cent. per annum, by a resolution passed on the
 3d of December 1772.²

In the interval between 1774 and 1772, the sales at the
 India House had increased from about £,000,000*l.* to
 £,000,000*d.* annually their annual exports, including both
 goods and stores, had fully doubled. In the year 1751,
 the total amount of shipping in the service of the Com-
 pany was 38,441 tons. In the year 1772 it was 61,880.

that of tenant on lease, and the occupant of an estate in which he has more
 than passing interest, may equitably expect an equivalent for permanent
 improvements — W

¹ *Sayers*, vol. III. p. 26.

See the Third and Eighth Reports of the Committee of Secrecy in 1773.
 Fifth Report of the Committee of Secrecy

BOOK V

—♦—

FROM THE FIRST GREAT CHANGE IN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY AND IN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, IN 1773, TILL THE SECOND GREAT CHANGE BY THE ACT COMMONLY CALLED MR. PITT'S ACT, IN 1784

—♦—

CHAPTER I

Administration of Hastings till the Time when the Parliamentary Members of the Council arrived and the Operations of the New Constitution commenced, including—Arrangements for collecting the Revenue and administering Justice ostensibly as Dewan—Treatment of Mohammed Reza Khan and the Raja Shutab Roy—Elevation of Munny Begum—Destruction of the Rohillas—Sale of Corah and Allahabad to the Vizir—Payment refused of the Emperor's Revenue—Financial Results

BY the new parliamentary authority, Mr Hastings was appointed Governor-General, and General Clavering, Colonel Monson, Mr Barwell, and Mr Francis, the members of Council, not removable, except by the King, upon representation made by the Court of Directors, during the period assigned in the act. Mr Hastings had ascended with reputation through the several stages of the Company's service, possessed the rank of a member of Council at the time of Mr Vansittart's administration, and generally concurred in the measures which the party opposed to that Governor so vehemently condemned. After a visit to his native country, to which he proceeded at the same time with Vansittart, he returned to India in 1769, to fill the station of second in council at Madras, and in the beginning of 1772 was raised to the highest situation in the service of the Company, being appointed to succeed Mr Cartier in the government of Bengal.

BOOK V

CHAP I

1760

BOOK V
CHAP. L
172

granted to the ryots which enumerated all the claims to which they were to be subject and forbade, under penalties, every additional exaction. When the Zemindars, and other middlemen of ancient standing offered for the lands which they had been accustomed to govern, terms which were deemed reasonable, they were preferred when their offers were considered as inadequate, they were allowed a pension for their subsistence, and the lands were put up to sale.

While the settlement, in other words the taxation of the country was carrying into execution upon this plan, the principal office of revenue, or *Khalsa*, underwent a total revolution. So long as the veil of the native government had been held up, this office had been stationed at Moorshedabad, and was ostensibly under the direction of the sort of minister of revenue, whom, with the title of *Naib Dewan*, the President and Council had set up. It was now resolved to transfer this great office from Moorshedabad to Calcutta; and to place it under the immediate superintendence of the government. The whole Council were constituted a Board of Revenue, to sit two days in the week, or if necessary more. The Members of the Council were appointed to act as auditors of accounts, each for a week in rotation. The office of *Naib Dewan*, which had been held by Mohammed Raza Khan at Moorshedabad, and by Shitab Roy at Patna, was abolished but a native functionary or assistant dewan, under the title of *Roy royan*, was appointed to act in the Khalsa, as superintendent of the district dewan, to receive the accounts in the Bengal language, to answer interrogatories, and to make reports.

The fundamental change in that great and leading branch of Indian administration which concerned the revenue, rendered indispensable a new provision for the administration of justice. The Zeminder who was formerly the great fiscal officer of a district, commonly exercised both civil and criminal jurisdiction within the territory over which he was appointed to preside. In his Phoudary or criminal court, he inflicted all sorts of penalties

Extract of Proceedings, Sixth Report, of *sepra*. See also Sixth Report of the Select Committee of 1783, Appendix No. I; Colbroke's Supplement to Digest of Bengal Regulations, p. 174-190; and the Fifth Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons, in 1818, p. 4, &c.

chiefly fines for his own benefit even capital punishments, under no further restraint than that of reporting the case at Moorshedabad before execution In his Adaaulut, or civil court, he decided all questions relating to property , being entitled to a chout, or twenty-five per cent., upon the subject of litigation His discretion was guided or restrained by no law, except the Koran, its commentaries, and the customs of the country, all in the highest degree loose and indeterminate Though there was no formal and regular course of appeal from the Zemindary decisions, the government interfered in an arbitrary manner, as often as complaints were preferred, to which, from their own importance, or from the importance of those who advanced them, it conceived it proper to attend To the mass of the people these courts afforded but little protection The expense created by distance, excluded the greater number from so much as applying for justice , and every powerful oppressor treated a feeble tribunal with contempt The judges were finally swayed by their hopes and their fears , by the inclinations of the men who could hurt or reward them Then proceedings were not controlled by any written memorial or record. In cases relating to religion, the Cauzee and Brahmen were called to expound, the one the Moslem, the other the Brahminical law , and then opinion was the standard of decision Originally, questions of revenue as well as others belonged to the courts of the Zemindars, but a few years previous to the transfer of the revenues to the English, the decision of fiscal questions had been taken from the Zemindar, and given to an officer styled the Naib Dewan, or fiscal Deputy, in each province

Beside the tribunals of the districts, the capital was provided with two criminal courts , in one of which, called Roy adaaulut, the Nazim, as supreme magistrate, tried capital offences , in another, a magistrate called the Phoujdar tried offences of a less penal description, and reported his proceedings to the Nazim At the capital was also found the principal dewanee or fiscal court in which the Dewan tried causes relating to the revenue, including all questions of title to land All other civil causes were tried at the capital in the court of the Darogah-i-adaaulut-al-alea , except those of inheritance and

BOOK V

CHAP. I

1772.

arrangement taken or rather is it necessary to ask, why some arrangement was not taken to prevent the suspension of the judicial and every branch of the executive government, before the officer was arrested on whom all these great operations depended!

The Raja Shitab Roy held the same office at Patna, for the province of Bahar as was held by Mohammed Rena Khan at Moorshedabad, for that of Bengal. Because Mohammed Rena Khan was arrested, and sent to Calcutta for his trial, and because, as holding the same office, it seemed proper that they should both share the same fate, Shitab Roy was in like fashion arrested, and sent to his trial.

Ahteram-al-dowlah was a surviving brother of Jaffer Ali Khan, the deceased Subahdar the uncle of the young Nabob, the eldest existing male, and hence the natural guardian, of the family on this ground he presented a petition to "the Gentlemen," praying that he might be appointed to the vacant office of Neahut Nizamut in other words, be chosen Naib under the Nizam.

The Directors, though resolved not to be any longer Dewan under a cloak were yet eager to preserve the supposed benefit of clandestinity, in the other department of the Subahdaree, the Nizamut.¹ The servants in India declared their full concurrence in the wisdom of that policy. But they conceived that for this purpose such an officer as

It is here forgotten that place for the collection of the revenues, and the administration of civil justice, and of criminal justice, in the first instance, had been devised, which rendered the interposition of the Naib no longer necessary; the Committee speak of the office as originally constituted, not as now, in great degree superseded by the English regulations.—W.

Though we have not doubt but that by the exertion of your abilities, and the care and activity of our servants in the superintendence of the revenues, the collections will be conducted with more advantage to the Company and ease to the natives, than by means of Naib Dewans; we are fully sensible of the expediency of supporting some controllable minister in the Company's interest at the Nabob's court, to transact the political affairs of the Circular and interpose between the Company and the subjects of any European power in all cases wherein they may thwart our interest, or encroach on our authority. Letter from the Court of Directors to the President and Council at Fort William, 24th August, 1771. Minutes, at page, p. 972.

The Committee are fully sensible of the expediency required by the Honourable Court of Directors, of holding out the authority of the country government to the European powers, in all cases wherein their interests may interfere with those of the Company. Constitution, 11th July, 1771, Minutes, at page, p. 973. W. Hastings, in his letter, 24th March, 1774, seems to have questioned altogether the wisdom of clandestinity. There can be but one government, and one power in this province. Even the pretensions of the Nabob may prove source of great embarrassment, when he is of age to claim his release from the present state of papillage which prevents his asserting them. Ibid. p. 903.

the Naib Subah (so they styled the Naib of the Nazim) was neither necessary nor desirable , first, on account of the expense, next, the delegation of power, which could never be without a portion of danger They resolved, therefore, that the office of Naib Subah should be abolished¹ That is to say, they resolved, that the main instrument of government, that on which the administration of justice, the whole business of police, and every branch of the executive government depended, should be taken away , and what did they substitute, for answering the same ends ? The Courts of Review established at Calcutta might be expected to supply the place of the Naib of the Nazim, in respect to the administration of justice with respect to all the other branches of government, answerable for the happiness of between twenty and thirty millions of human beings, no substitution whatsoever was made so profound, for I acquit them on the score of intention, was the ignorance which then distinguished the English rulers of India, of what they owed to the people, over whom they ruled, and the fruit of whose labour, under the pretence of rendering to them the services of government, they took from them, and disposed of as they pleased¹ No doubt the duties of government, thus left without an organ, were in part, and irregularly, when they pressed upon them and could not be avoided, performed both by the President and Council, and by the servants distributed in the different parts of the country But how imperfectly those services of government must have been rendered, for which no provision was made and which, as often as they were rendered, were rendered as works of supererogation by those who had other obligations to fulfil, it is unnecessary to observe

Though so little was done for rendering to the people the services of government, there was another branch of the duties of the Naib Nazim, which met with a very different sort and style of attention That was, in name, the superintendence of the education and household of the Nabob , in reality, the disbursement of the money, allotted for his state and support This was a matter of prime importance , and was met with a proportional intensity of consideration and care It would be unjust, however, to

BOOK V.
CHAP I

1772

BOOK V enjoy the dignity and pleasures of his capital when they
 CHAR L hurried him into the field. The country of the Rohillas
 1772 was the object of cupidity to both to the Emperor as an
 increase of his limited territory to the Mahrattas, as a
 field of plunder if not a permanent possession. Seharun-
 pore, the jaghire of the late minister Nujub-ad-dowla, the
 Rohilla chief, who had served the royal family with so
 much fidelity and talent, and, in the absence of the Em-
 peror had governed the city and province of Delhi for a
 number of years, lay most accessible. It was not, as the
 other possessions of the Rohillas, on the further side of
 the Ganges, but commenced under the Sivalic hills, at a
 distance of seventy miles from Delhi, and was terminated
 by the strong fortress of Ghose Ghur on the north, and by
 Saketial on the east. The reumption of the government
 of Delhi, which had been possessed by Nujub-ad-dowla
 transmitted to his son Zabita Khan, and the idea of the
 resentment which that chief must have conceived upon
 this retrenchment of his power rendered him an object of
 apprehension to the Emperor and recommended to his
 approbation the project of commencing operations with the
 reductions of Seharunpore. The Mogul forces, which the
 Emperor accompanied in person, were commanded by
 Mirza Nujuf Khan, a native of Persia, who accompanied to
 Delhi Mirza Mohsan, the brother of Sufider Jung, the
 Nabob of Oude, when he returned from the embassy on
 which he had been sent to Nadir Shah, after his invasion
 of Hindustan. Mirza Nujuf was of a family said to be
 related to the Sophi sovereigns of Persia, and was held in
 confinement by the jealousy of Nadir. He and his sister
 were released at the intercession of the Hindustan ambas-
 sador when the sister became the wife of her deliverer
 and the brother accompanied them on their departure to
 Hindustan. After the death of his benefactor Mirza Nujuf
 adhered to the fortunes of his son, Mohammed Coolie Khan, Governor of Allahabad and when that unfortunate
 Prince was treacherously put to death by his cousin Sup-
 ad-dowla, the son and successor of Sufider Jung, Nujuf
 Khan retired with a few followers into Bengal, and offered
 his services to Meer Cawm. When that Nabob fled for
 protection to the Nabob of Oude, whom Nujuf Khan, as
 the friend of Mohammed Coolie Khan, was afraid to trust

he departed into Bundelcund, and was received into employment by one of the chiefs of that country. Upon the flight of Suja-ad-dowla, after the battle of Burai, Mirza Nujuf offered his services to the English ; advanced claims to the government of Allahabad, was favourably received, and put in possession of a part of the country. But when the transfer of that district to the Emperor came to be regarded as a politic arrangement, the pretensions of Nujuf Khan were set aside, and, in the way of compensation, he was allowed a pension of two lacs of rupees from the English revenues, and recommended warmly to the Emperor. His talents and address raised him to a high station in the service of that enfeebled Sovereign, whom he accompanied, as commander of the forces, on his ill-fated expedition to Delhi.

The united power of the Emperor and Mahrattas, Zabita Khan, though he made a spirited defence, was unable to withstand. He was overcome in battle, and fled across the Ganges, in hopes to defend what territories he possessed on the opposite side. He stationed parties of troops at the different fords, but this weakened his main body, Nujuf Khan gallantly braved the stream, and was followed by the Mahrattas, when Zabita Khan, despairing of success, fled to Patti-gui, where he had deposited his women and treasures. The closeness with which he was pursued allowed not time sufficient to remove them, and they fell into the hands of the enemy, while Zabita Khan himself, with a few attendants, escaped to the camp of Suja-ad-dowla. His country, one of the most fertile districts in India, which had flourished under the vigorous and equitable administration of Nujub-ad-dowla, afforded a rich booty, which the Mahrattas wholly seized, and set at nought the outcry of the Emperor.

The Rohillas were now placed in the most alarming situation. We have already seen¹ that among those soldiers of fortune from the hardy regions of the North, who constantly composed the principal part of the Mogul armies, and, according to their talents and influence, procured themselves lands and governments in India, the Afghans had latterly occupied a conspicuous place, that a portion of this people, who took the name of Rohillas, had given

¹ Book iii chap iv.

BOOK V was no better than an instrument in the hands of the **Mahrattas**. Of their power the first use was to extort from their prisoner a grant of the provinces of Corah and Allahabad, in which he had been established by the English. Having accomplished these events, they returned to the banks of the Ganges, which they made preparations to cross.

172

The Subahdar was now thrown into a state of the most violent alarm, and wrote repeated letters to the Bengal government to send a military force to his protection. He had neglected, or had been unable, to take any measures for placing the country of the Rohillas in a state of security. That people were now laid at the mercy of the Mahrattas, and would, he foresaw be compelled to join them, to avoid destruction. Zabita Khan had already thrown himself upon their mercy and he violently feared that the other chiefs would speedily follow his example. The Mahrattas, indeed, made great offers to the Rohillas. They would remit the greater part of the sums of which they had extorted the promise. They engaged to pass through the country without committing any depredations or molesting the ryots, and to grant all sorts of advantages provided the Rohillas would yield a free passage through their dominions into the territory of the Virir.¹ The Subahdar of Oude exerted himself to prevent that union of the Mahrattas and Rohillas the effects of which he contemplated with so much alarm. He moved with his army into that part of his country which was nearest to that of the Rohillas and held out to them whatever inducements he conceived most likely to confirm their opposition to the Mahrattas. He engaged to make effectual provision both for their present and future security and to remit, as Hafiz Rahmet affirms, the forty lacks of rupees. Difficult as was the choice, the Rohillas thought it still less dangerous to rely upon the faith of the Subahdar than upon that of the Mahrattas and gaining what they could, by temporizing with that formidable people, they however declined all engagements with

¹This is distinctly asserted in a letter of Hafiz Rahmet himself, addressed to the Gov. General; and it is too conformable to the state of the circumstances to be liable to any reasonable doubt. Fifth Report, *et seqq.* App. No. 18.

them, and actually joined their troops to those of the English and Subahdai¹

BOOK V
CHAP I

1773

On the 7th of January, 1773, the Secret Committee at Calcutta entered into consultation on intelligence of these events, and thus recorded their sentiments "Notwithstanding the alarms of the Vizir, expressed in the foregoing letters, it does not clearly appear that the Mahrattas have acquired any accession of power, since, whatever advantage they derived from the sanction of the King's name, when he was independent, must now be either lost, or very much diminished, by their late rupture with him, by their having violently possessed themselves of his person, and their usurpation of his dominions" On the subject of the Rohillas, whom the Vizir, to increase the ardour of the English to send an army to his support, represented as actually connected with the Mahrattas, though he only dreaded that event, they remark, that instead of joining with the Mahrattas in an invasion of the territories of the Vizir, "It is still more probable that the Rohilla chiefs, who have sought their present safety in a treacherous alliance, *to which necessity compelled them*, with the Mahrattas, will, from the same principle, abandon their cause, or employ the confidence reposed in them to re-establish their own independence, rather than contribute to the aggrandizement of a power, *which in the end must overwhelm them*" With regard to the unhappy Shah Aulum, the humiliated Emperor of the Moguls, they remark "It is possible he may solicit our aid, and, in point of right, we should certainly be justified in affording it him, since no act of his could be deemed valid in his present situation, and while he continues a mere passive instrument in the hands of the Mahrattas but whether it would be politic to interfere, or whether, at this time especially, it would be expedient, must continue a doubt with us"² It is remarkable, that with regard to the most important of his acts—the surrender of Corah and Allahabad—so little did any one regard it as binding, that his deputy in these provinces, instead of delivering them up to the Mahrattas, applied to the English for leave to place them under their protection, "as the King, his master,

¹ See Sir Robert Barker's Letter, 23rd March, 1773, Ibid App No 18² Fifth Report, ut supra, App No 18

BOOK V with which it was attended, it is necessary to give some account. The correspondence with the country powers had frequently been carried on through the military officers upon the spot. The power thus conveyed to the military Mr Hastings had represented as inconvenient, if not dangerous and one object of his policy had been to render the head of the civil government the exclusive organ of communication with foreign powers. He now stated to the Council the concurrence in opinion of the Vizir and himself, that an agent, permanently residing with the Vizir for the communication and adjustment of many affairs to which the intercourse of letters could not conveniently apply would be attended with important advantages and he urged the propriety of granting to himself the sole nomination of such an agent, the sole power of removing him, and the power of receiving and answering his letters, without communication either to the Committee or Council. To all these conditions the Council gave their assent and Mr Nathaniel Middleton, with an extra salary was sent as private agent to attend the residence of the Vizir and to communicate secretly with Mr Hastings.

The Vizir in the meantime, had made himself master of several places in the Doobah. He advanced towards Delhi with a show of great friendship to the Emperor assisted him with money sent a force to assist his army in wresting Agra from the Jaats and, having thus laid a foundation for confidence, began to intrigue for his sanction to the intended attack upon Rohilkund. A treaty was negotiated, and at last solemnly concluded and signed, by which it was agreed that the Emperor should assist with his forces in the reduction of the Rohillas, and in return should receive a share of the plunder and one-half of the conquered country.

On the 18th of November about two months after their interview the Vizir wrote to the President, demanding the promised assistance of the English for the destruction of the Rohillas. Mr Hastings appears to have been thrown

Hastings' Report, App. No. 19 *ut supra*; Letter of 17th June, 1774, App. No. 22.

Franklin's Shah Aslam, p. 64. Letter of Col. Champion. Fifth Report, *ut supra*, App. N. 45; and the treaty itself, App. No. 37 Scott's Annexes to the Successors, p. 200, 201.

into some embarrassment. The suddenness and confidence of the call corresponded but indifferently with the terms on which he had given his colleagues to understand that the communication on this subject rested between him and the Vizir. His abilities in making out a case, though singularly great, were unable to produce unanimity and it was not till after a long debate, that a decision in favour of the expedition was obtained. The assistance was promised on the very terms concerted and settled between him and the Vizir, and yet this President had the art to persuade his colleagues, and joined with them in a declaration to their common masters, that these terms were so favourable to the English, and so burdensome to the Vizir, as to render his acceptance of them improbable, and therefore to leave but little chance of their involving the English Government in a measure which the principal conductors of that government were desirous to avoid.¹

BOOK V.
CHAR I.

1774

In the month of January, 1774, the second of the three brigades into which the Company's army in Bengal was divided, received orders to join the Vizir, and Colonel Champion, now Commander-in-Chief, proceeded about the middle of February to assume the command. On the 24th of February the brigade arrived within the territory of the Vizir, and, on the 17th of April, the united forces entered the Rohilla dominions. On the 19th, Colonel Champion wrote to the Presidency, that the Rohilla leader, "had by letter expressed earnest inclinations to come to an accommodation with the Vizir, but that the Nabob claimed no less than *two crores* of rupees." After this extravagant demand, the Rohillas posted themselves on the side of Babul Nulla, with a resolution of standing their ground to the last extremity. And early on the morning of the 23rd, the English advanced to the attack. "Hafez," says the English General, with a generous esteem, "and his army, consisting of about 40,000 men, showed great bravery and resolution, annoying us with their artillery and rockets. They made repeated attempts to charge, but our guns, being so much better served than theirs, kept so constant and galling a fire, that they could not advance, and where they were closest, was the greatest slaughter. They gave

¹ Fifth Report, ut sup^v, App Nos 22, 23, 24, 25

BOOK V receipt. That for the year ending in April 1772, was
 CHAR L 2,16,88,538 rupees, equal to 2,373,060L; that for the year
 1774, was 2,20,56,919 rupees, or 2,481,404L¹. In the
 next great department of financial administration, the ex-
 pense of the civil and military services, instead of any
 retrenchment there had been an increase. In the year
 ending in 1772, the civil service is stated at 154,620L the
 marine at 52,161L, the military at 1,164,348L and the
 total expense, exclusive of buildings and fortifications, at
 1,371,129L In the year ending in 1774, the civil service
 is stated at 158,537L, the marine at 53,700L, the military
 at 1,304,883L, and the total at 1,518,120L In the year
 1772, the proportion of the military expense, defrayed by
 the Nabob of Oude, was 20,768L In the year 1774, the
 proportion defrayed by him was 131,430L In the follow-
 ing year that ending in April 1775, there was a slight im-
 provement in the collections which may in part be
 ascribed to the measures of the preceding administration
 and there was a total cessation of war which produced a
 reduction of the military expenditure, remarkable only for
 its minuteness. The gross collections amounted to
 2,87,20,700 rupees, the net receipt to 2,51,02,000, or
 2,833,964L the civil service to 231,722L, the marine to
 36,510L, and the military to 1,080,304L total, 1,349,836L
 and the proportion this year borne by the Nabob of Oude
 was 240,780L It thus abundantly appears, that nothing
 so important as to deserve the name of improvement had
 arisen in the financial administration of the Company A
 pecuniary relief had indeed been procured, but from sources
 of a temporary and very doubtful description partly from
 the produce of the bills drawn in such profusion upon the
 Company by the predecessor of Hastings partly from the
 reduction of the allowance to the Nabob of Bengal, from
 thirty-two to sixteen lacs but chiefly from the plunder
 of the unhappy Emperor of the Moguls, whose tribute of
 twenty-six lacs per annum for the dewrance of Bengal
 was withheld, and whose two provinces Corah and Allah
 abad were sold for fifty lacs to the Vizir from the sale
 of the Rohillas, the extirpation of whom was purchased at

Fifth Report, *et supra*, p. 7 and 34.
 Ind. p. 25

¹ Ind. p. 26.

* Ind. p. 2.
 Ind. p. 2.
 Ind. p. 41.

BOOK V

CHAR II.

1776.

devolved. The minister leaves his office and ascendancy to his son the son makes it hereditary and the sovereign, divested of all but the name of king, sinks into an empty pageant. Such was the course of events in the case of the mayor of the palace in France, in that of the *Chu-swa* in Tunquin,¹ and such it was, besides other cases, in that of the Peshwa, among the Mahrattas. In the reign of the Raja Sahoo, who was but third in succession from Sivajee, Viswanath Balajee had raised himself from a low situation in life to the rank of Peshwa. Sahoo was a prince devoted to ease and to pleasure and the supreme powers were wielded, with little check or limitation, by Viswanath Balajee. He assumed the name of Rao Pundit, that is, chief of the Pundits, or learned Brahmins, and made the Raja invest him with a *sirpah*, or robe of office,² a ceremony which ever since has marked the succession of the Peshwas, and appeared to confer the title. Viswanath was able to leave his office and power to his son Bajerao who still further diminished the power of the sovereign and finally allowed him not so much as liberty. The Raja was confined to Satara, a species of state prisoner while the Peshwa established his own residence at Poona, which henceforth became the seat of government. The brother of Bajerao, Jumnajee Anna, though a Brahmen, led the forces of the state he attacked the Portuguese settlements in the neighbourhood of Bombay and added Salsette and Bassein to the conquests of the Mahrattas. The family of the Peshwa prided themselves in these acquisitions affected to consider them as their own, rather than the property of the state and showed a violent attachment to them, as often as, either by force or negotiation, the alienation of them was attempted. The vicinity of these territories to the British settlements at Bombay brought the interests of the Company in contact with those of the Mahrattas and the terms of a commercial and maritime intercourse were somewhat inaccurately framed. Bajerao left a son, named Bao, who was slain in the battle of Paniput; and Jumnajee Anna, his brother left two sons, Nanah,

See the *Exposé Statistique du Tonkin*, published in London, in 1811, from the papers of M. de la Bessière, French missionary who had spent twenty six years in the country.

¹The Sirpa is an honorary dress, not particularly a robe of office.—W

